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# ***Daily Report***

# **China**

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FBIS-CHI-89-100

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25 May 1989

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An \* indicates material not previously disseminated in electronic form.

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General

**Foreign Ministry Holds Weekly News Briefing**

**Yang's Latin America Trip Postponed**  
OW2505083589 Beijing XINHUA in English  
0304 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Beijing, May 25 (XINHUA)—Chinese President Yang Shangkun has postponed his visit to four Latin American countries till later this year because of work arrangement, said a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman here today.

The visit to Mexico, Brazil, Oriental Republic of Uruguay and Argentina, was originally scheduled to start at the end of May.

**SRV Accused of 'Provocation'**  
OW2505095689 Beijing XINHUA in English  
0930 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Beijing, May 25 (XINHUA)—The so-called inspection of some of China's Nansha [Spratly] Islands currently under Vietnam's illegal occupation made recently made by Nguyen Quyet, vice-president of the Council of State of Vietnam, is a flagrant provocation against China's territorial sovereignty, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

Earlier Doan Khue, chief of the General Staff of the Vietnamese People's Army, made a trip to the islands, the spokesman said at today's weekly press briefing.

"The Vietnamese side must immediately halt such acts of provocation," the spokesman said.

**Arab Summit Welcomed**  
OW2505083789 Beijing XINHUA in English  
0803 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Beijing, May 25 (XINHUA)—The emergency Arab summit held in Casablanca is a major event in the Arab World, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

At the press conference, Li Jinhua said that China appreciates the spirit of unity prevailing at the summit.

China believes that the summit meeting will contribute positively to the strengthening of Arab solidarity, advancement of the Middle East peace process, easing of the situation in Lebanon and realization of peace and stability in the Middle East region, she said.

Soviet Union

**Rogachev Receives PRC Charge d'Affaires**  
OW2405085489 Beijing in Russian to the USSR  
1900 GMT 23 May 89

[Correspondent's report from Moscow]

[Text] Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, received (Zhang Zhen), PRC charge d'affaires ad interim, 22 May in Moscow. During the reception, Rogachev informed (Zhang Zhen) about the high assessment of the Sino-Soviet summit meeting by the Soviet leadership, and once more expressed gratitude to the Chinese Government and people for the cordial welcome and hospitality rendered to Mikhail Gorbachev during his China visit.

Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, also commented on coordinating efforts to implement the agreements reached in Beijing.

**Sino-Soviet Summit Not To Affect Trade Policy**  
HK2405142989 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN  
SHE in Chinese 0649 GMT 24 May 89

[Report: "Sino-Soviet Rapprochement Has Caused No Change in China's Foreign Trade Principle"—ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE headline]

[Text] Beijing, 24 May (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)—The recent Sino-Soviet rapprochement has caused no change in China's foreign trade principle.

During an interview with reporters, a responsible official of China's Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade said that in the current new situation, China's policy of opening up to the outside world applies to all countries in the world, including Western countries, Third World countries, socialist countries, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

The official added that during the recent Sino-Soviet summit meeting, both sides expressed their wish to see a continued expansion of Sino-Soviet economic and trade cooperation. The official also said that China and the Soviet Union are neighbors and each of them has its own strong points. Therefore, strengthening bilateral cooperation and exchanges and learning from each other's strong points to offset each other's weaknesses will no doubt further facilitate the economic development of both China and the Soviet Union.

The official said that China should make full use of the current international situation, further open itself up to the outside world, and adopt a more active approach and more flexible methods to participate in international economic life so as to further develop its own foreign economic relations and trade.

When asked about trade relations between China and South Korea, the official reiterated that to date, China and South Korea have not established official political relations with each other, nor have they established official economic and trade relations. Commenting on the unofficial economic exchanges between China and South Korea, the official said that the reform of China's foreign trade structure has resulted in the delegation of more decisionmaking power to Chinese enterprises. Now Chinese enterprises are free to choose their own business partners according to their actual needs and to make their own decisions in this respect.

When asked to comment on the Asian economic circle, the official said that China hopes that the formation of the Asian economic circle will give a powerful impetus to more wide-ranging economic exchanges among all the countries in the world rather than exerting a negative impact on such economic exchanges. China is willing to develop economic and trade relations with all countries and all regions in the world. Since China is situated in Asia, she has a natural geographical advantage in developing economic and trade relations with various countries in Asia. The official said that, however, such development will not adversely affect the development of economic and trade relations between China and countries in other regions of the world.

**Improvements in Sino-Soviet Border Ties Detailed**  
*OW2405231589 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW*  
*in English 15-21 May pp 17-22*

[Article by BEIJING REVIEW staff reporter Wu Naitao: "Ice Melting on the Sino-Soviet Border"]

**[Text] Twenty years ago, the boom of guns burst the silence of Zhenbao Island as strained Sino-Soviet relations reached a breaking point. Along the closed boundary, troops of the two countries patrolled in full battle array. But now all this has been superceded by an atmosphere of peace, friendship and brisk trade transactions.**

In March this year, I visited Heilongjiang's Heihe City, which is just opposite Blagoveshchensk, capital of the Soviet Amur region. Near China's 355-kilometre boundary line with the Soviet Union in the Heihe region, there are three cities. Heihe is the only city at prefectural level where party and government organizations are located, as well as the only Chinese city just opposite the capital city of the Soviet Union at the regional level.

**To the Boundary Line**

Geographically speaking, Heilongjiang is the northernmost province in China with the longest boundary line (3,200 kilometres) with the Soviet Union. Heihe City is over 500 kilometres from Harbin, the capital of Heilongjiang Province, and cannot be reached by train. The railway line ends 300 kilometres from Heihe at Beian City. From there I took a long-distance bus to Heihe. Section after section of the railway extending to

the north swept past the window of the bus. They are part of the Beian-Heihe railway which is now under construction and will soon be completed, and, hopefully, open to traffic this autumn. Then people can leave Harbin and travel to Heihe by train.

Signs of mutual exchanges and influence between China and the Soviet Union are everywhere in evidence in Heihe. Soviet-style round loaves of bread about the size of a football can be seen in bakery shop windows. Russian light music of the 1950s such as "Night in the Suburbs of Moscow" and other songs are beamed in the shops. In the hotel where I stayed, I met many business people from various Chinese provinces and cities. The Soviet people who come from the other side of the river on business and sightseeing no longer arouse the curiosity of Heihe citizens. The local people can choose a television programme from four channels—the Central TV stations, the Heilongjiang TV station, Moscow and Amur TV stations. It is reported that audiences on the other side of the river can also tune in on any of the four main TV channels. Turning on the television one evening, I caught the local news programme broadcasting a contract-signing ceremony between the Harbin Steam Turbine Plant and the Soviet Steam Turbine Plant. As reported, the Harbin Steam Turbine Plant is a project built in the 50s with the assistance of the Soviet Steam Turbine Plant; the two plants now plan to update and upgrade the equipment of the Harbin plant.

Heihe and Blagoveshchensk are divided by the 1.5-kilometre-wide Heilong River. In the distance on the opposite bank of the river, the Soviet red-roofed buildings, the TV launching stand and hoists come clearly into view. At night, both banks are brilliantly lit. Occasionally, searchlight beams flash across the sky, said to come from Soviet patrol cars.

In March, Heihe was still a world of ice and snow. Broad routes were opened up across the river over the ice, and motor vehicles passed back and forth between the banks. The joint inspection station composed of the frontier inspection, customs, commodity inspection, health and animal and plant inspection stations conducted entry and exit formalities for each motor vehicle. According to Liu Xingquan, manager of the Heihe Frontier Trading Co., 40 to 50 trucks go to Blagoveshchensk every day. One-third of the employees in his company carry long-term passports. Beginning in August last year, those going to the northern bank on official business were not obliged to apply for visas but could get a letter of introduction from the foreign affairs office of the government with their passports and pass the inspection station in a few minutes.

Heihe has a population of 130,000. Its clean and well-laid out streets are too narrow for the development of public transport. Local people told me that when Sino-Soviet relations were strained, Heihe residents moved south on two occasions. This adversely affected urban planning and construction although later they did settle

down for good. Evidently, no long-term plan for the development and prosperity of the city was drawn up by the local government at that time.

In recent years, more and more people from other parts of the country have come to Heihe and a number of hotels have been built. One attendant said that during the sales exhibition of export commodities to the Soviet Union last year, so many Chinese business people thronged into the city that all the hotels were filled to capacity, and many had to stay in the school classrooms.

### Small Trade on the Border

Most of the people who come to Heihe are engaged in frontier trade, as it is one of China's earliest trade ports opening to the Soviet Union. "Barter trade on an equal value" is the name given to the only method for carrying on the small frontier trade between Heihe and Blagoveschensk. It is conducted according to principles of "equality and mutual benefit, helping supply each other's needs, barter trade, no payments in foreign exchange, restricting expenditures within the limits of income, and balancing imports and exports." The Swiss franc has been used for settling accounts.

The local people well remember that the first deal between Heihe and Blagoveschensk after the suspension of their trade in 1966 was for 208 tons of watermelons. That was in September 1987. Zhao Gongming, a photographer from the local archives, recalls that when the first cargo arrived at the Chinese dock, people unexpectedly found that the vice-president of the Amur regional executive committee was also on the ship. The vice-president expressed a sincere desire for co-operation. The Chinese personnel were both happy and keyed up, but no reporters were allowed to have interviews or to take pictures. With the special permission of the department concerned and using the excuse of taking pictures for the archives, Zhao took only one colour picture. But people now are not oversensitive and China's trade with the Soviet Union has become a matter of routine local economic life.

Manager Liu said that in 1988, the two cities signed a trade contract with a total import and export volume valued at 120 million Swiss francs, or twice as big as the total volume with the Soviet Union in the ten years before 1966. At Heihe the Chinese side imported 26 kinds of products from the Soviet Union, including chemical fertilizer, timber, iron and steel, and cement. On China's export list are over 400 varieties of goods, from hoists to children's toys. The bulk of China's exports are light industrial products and textiles, and electronic, agricultural and sideline products. Liu noted that because both sides are enthusiastic for trade, the volume has doubled and redoubled. In the first two months of this year, contracts valued at 40 million Swiss francs were clinched.

Our staff reporter visited the export commodities sample rooms at the Heihe frontier trade negotiation building. On display in the three sample rooms are garments, shoes, mechanical and electric products, medical apparatus and articles of daily use. People from the Soviet side can come to look over the displays and place orders at any time. At present, orders for 70 percent of the varieties have been placed.

In addition, the Chinese side held two export commodity exhibitions last year, one at Heihe in July and one at Blagoveschensk in August. Altogether, 495 Chinese factories from 18 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions participated, and placed 8,500 varieties of products on display. Contracts both for imports and exports valued at 48 million Swiss francs were inked at these exhibitions. When they closed, the Industrial Products Trade Bureau of Blagoveschensk bought up all the samples shown to exhibit in other parts of the Soviet Union.

In Heihe, one hears many stories about how fond the Soviet people are of Chinese products. A leading member of Blagoveschensk told a visiting Chinese guest that all the light industrial products in his home were made in China. The woman manager of a large shop in Blagoveschensk told a staff member of the Heihe foreign trade department that "we can easily sell out our whole stock of Chinese textiles and light industrial products. On the eve of International Women's Day this year, the commercial department in Blagoveschensk purchased 35,000 handkerchiefs from Heihe and sold them all in less than two days.

As a comprehensive trade port, Heihe has made a good beginning. Manager Liu is optimistic about the prospects of Sino-Soviet frontier trade in the region. He analysed some favourable conditions: First, the geographical location is excellent. Heihe Harbour is just a few hundred metres from the Soviet dock. The ice over the river is two metres thick in winter. The period of freezing weather lasts five months. Lorries can be driven across the river freely and it takes just a little over ten minutes to reach the other bank. There is navigation between the two cities ten months a year, with Heihe functioning as the land and river port. Second, both China and the Soviet Union can supply each other's needs. In the Amur region where the Soviet Union has developed heavy industry, there is an abundance of chemical fertilizer, timber and power resources. These products are precisely what Heihe wants to import. In turn, it can supply nonstable foods and light industrial products needed by the Soviet side. For example, at a business meeting last year, the Soviet side bought 100,000 thermos bottles at one stroke. This mutual complementary pattern will not change in the predictable future.

Heihe's equivalent trade with the Soviet Union has a history of more than 100 years. With the improvement of relations, the desire for friendly co-operation has become increasingly urgent. Since last September, the Heihe government has enacted eight preferential policies

on trade with the Soviet Union. This has induced business people from the province and other parts of the country to enlarge trade and economic co-operation with the Soviet Union. Currently, the number of the permanent offices of other provinces in Heihe totals more than 50, and close to 500 factories in various parts of the country are supplying Heihe with products for export to the Soviet Union.

As Manager Liu sees it, there are still problems in communications and transport in Heihe which have handicapped its trade activities. For instance, the shipping and foreign trade departments are under the jurisdiction of two different administrative systems and they are not often in tune with each other. These structural problems cannot be solved in the immediate future.

According to the department concerned, railway construction from Beian to Heihe proceeds apace, and expansion of the Heihe Airport has been completed. There is now regular air service with three flights a week between Harbin and Heihe. Renovation of the Heihe Dock to give it an annual handling capacity of 800,000 tons has been completed. According to reports, the Chinese and Soviet Governments are considering a joint bridge construction project over the Heilong River. The undertaking is now under discussion by experts.

#### Economic Cooperation

The development of trade has brought economic and technological co-operative agreements and contracts with the Amur region. In 1988, Heihe signed 42 co-operative agreements and contracts with the Amur region. Labour co-operation in construction and lumbering is already under way. Some projects involving processing with supplied materials and samples have entered the production stage. For instance, the Amur region has offered to supply 800,000 to 1 million square metres of cattle hides and sheepskins to Heihe annually to be processed into leather products to be sold in the Soviet Union. Preliminaries have been completed and long-term contracts are being signed. Of course, this does not imply that both sides have co-operated satisfactorily in all aspects. The Amur region, for example, which is rich in power resources, is also interested in supplying China, but agreement on price has not been reached. However, Manager Liu is optimistic. "People from here keep going across the river to hold business talks with them," he said, "and people from the other side keep coming here to talk with us every day. As long as talks continue, problems will be solved!"

Last September the Heihe region signed three contracts on labour service with the construction department of the Amur region. The Chinese construction teams contracted to work on a regional outpatient hospital, a "travelers" hotel and the interior fittings and decoration of a drama theatre to be built by the Amur Regional Joint Construction Co. These projects cover a total area of 60,000 square metres. Labour service charges for

interior fittings and decoration would be calculated according to the amount of work actually done and the Soviet quotas, and would be paid in kind.

In October 1988, 400 Chinese construction workers making up three teams crossed the river. The workers had volunteered to sign up for the work, but they had to be approved and had to measure up to standards of "technical proficiency and good health." I interviewed some of them who had just come back on holiday. They said that while working in the Soviet Union, they received no special treatment but could find friendship everywhere. After they arrived in Blagoveshchensk, the local newspapers often published some simple Russian-Chinese bilingual sentences for local people to learn some Chinese. The Chinese workers receive temporary residence permits in the locality and can go anywhere they like in Blagoveshchensk. Speaking of their impressions of their Soviet counterparts, carpenter Ni Zhifa said mechanization is fairly advanced in the city, management is business-like, and discipline is strict. But their planning is too inflexible, the division of work too rigid, and this lowers efficiency. Generally speaking, both sides have strong and weak points. Zhao Liyan, leader of the construction team, said that during the construction period, the delivery of materials by the Soviet side was not always prompt. This meant a loss in working time and cut into the income of the Chinese workers. At first both sides blamed each other. Now that we have been together for some time, both sides can exchange views frankly, and an understanding can be reached. Zhao Liyan said that in the beginning, it was simply because we did not understand each other, and we were too anxious for quick results that these problems cropped up. We had to pay a price for our initial try, but it was successful in the main. He showed me a copy of the Heihe Daily which carried an article reprinted from Pravda entitled "Partners From the Other Side of the River." One paragraph dealt specially with Chinese construction teams and spoke highly of their working attitude and the quality of the work. Reportedly the Amur construction department has expressed its intention to co-operate with China in four new construction projects.

#### One-Day Tours

The proposal to run one-day tours of Chinese and Soviet border towns was first put forward by the Soviet tourist department. Manager Liu Xingquan once asked, "What would you come here to see? Heihe City has no scenic spots, historical sites, or entertainment centres." The reply was, "We have over 200,000 people living on our side of the river, but they know nothing about Heihe city on the other bank. Their expectations are moderate—they'll be satisfied with taking a walk along a Chinese road, visiting a few shops and having a Chinese meal."

Chinese tourists probably have the same psychology. Both Chinese and Soviet tourist departments worked busily from September last year to March this year. On

September 9, 1988, the two sides signed an agreement at Blagoveshchensk on the method of accounting, the time for exit and entry, and purchasing commodities. In line with the desire to promote friendly relations and mutual understanding between the two countries, the Heihe Branch of China International Travel Service and the Amur Regional Tourist Corporation of the Soviet Union jointly decided to exchange excursion groups. They agreed to the use of local currency and to supplying reciprocal services.

Each side could send three groups a week. Each group was to consist of 39 members and an interpreter. Up to date, more than 40 groups have been exchanged and around 4,000 local Chinese and Soviet people have taken part in this significant form of interaction.

A photo album promoting friendly relations between China and the Soviet Union, published by the Harbin Publishing House, will come out soon. It is entitled "A One-Day Tour in China and the Soviet Union." Other books on Sino-Soviet relations will also be put out by the publishing house. Some photos in the album were contributed by the Soviet tourist company.

After filling in some forms and paying the necessary fees, I had the opportunity to join an excursion group. Early in the morning we got past the combined inspection station at the boundary and brushed past 40 Soviet tourists going the other way. We smiled and waved to each other.

Our bus rolled slowly over the ice and then picked up speed. Looking out of the window, I caught sight of several Soviet soldiers on duty. They were the only Soviet soldiers I saw during my week-long stay in Heihe. The local people told me that formerly, when the river was frozen, many Soviet guards had been posted there, half hidden, but now, there are only a few standing in the open.

Fifteen minutes later, reaching the other side, our bus stopped before a wooden structure, which housed the Soviet Frontier Inspection Station. Eye-catching words of welcome decorated the door. From here we set out to see the city and the shops and to visit a sanatorium.

Blagoveshchensk has broad streets, but there were few people to be seen and only an occasional bus. Small traditional wooden houses are mixed in with modern buildings. There are many commodities in the shops, but they are limited in variety. Commodities which interested Chinese tourists were mainly stainless steel articles and electric irons. Everywhere we went, Soviet people walked up to us, spoke to us and gesticulated, as if to ask us about something, but none of us could understand a thing.

Soviet tourists are more active, said Lu Guiju, the only woman of the three Russian language interpreters in the Heihe Tourist Service and tour leader for the first Soviet group last September. She told us Soviet guests were interested in just about everything including interior

decoration, horticulture, people's incomes, the policy of family planning, the divorce rate and the reasons why there were so many people riding bicycles in the streets. They are happy and excited in the shops and usually purchase fabrics. Chinese-made handkerchiefs are cheap and of excellent workmanship. Each group of Soviet tourists purchased around 1,000. Soviet women like to stop before the cosmetics counter for a long time. They want to buy everything. As a result, the money they exchanged gets used up in first shop they visit.

The guides of China's Heihe City and Blagoveshchensk City of the Soviet Union are now good friends, Lu Guiju said. The Soviet guides are good talkers and like to quote Mikail Gorbachev. What's more, they are enthusiastic about learning Chinese.

For excursion groups of both sides, departure time is seven o'clock in the evening. On leaving, each visitor receives a seven-inch colour photograph taken on the trip for a souvenir.

During my stay in Heihe City, there was a celebration of International Women's Day (March 8). Both Chinese and Soviet sides specially organized a women's tourist group to cross over for a get-together. The Soviet group was led by the vice-chairwoman of the Amur regional association of culture and art. It was a very lively and friendly occasion. Women of the two countries warmly embraced and exchanged souvenirs when they separated. According to local newspapers, it was the first time in 30 years for Chinese and Soviet women jointly celebrating International Women's Day.

I was told that the Amur regional tourist department has suggested starting two-day and five-day tours. If the plan is adopted, Chinese tourists can go directly through to Chabarosk from Heihe via Blagoveshchensk, while Soviet tourists can visit Harbin, go rowing on the Songhua River or participate in Harbin's famous ice-and-snow sculptures festival. In addition, according to officials of the Heilongjiang Provincial Administration Bureau for Tourism, the Harbin-Chabarosk air line will soon open. The control tower is now under construction. The opening of the line will contribute a favourable condition for the development of good relations between China and the Soviet Union.

#### Friendly Exchanges

In a big building not far from my hotel, there was an exhibit of architectural designs of the Amur region. The exhibition covered a floor space of 50 square metres. Hanging on the walls were large-sized black-and-white photos of different styles of buildings, each of them marked with the date of design and the name of the designer. The person in charge said that an exhibit of China's architectural designs would be held in the Amur region soon.

Not long ago, a painting exhibition was also held in Heihe City. Fifty-five works of 28 artists from the Amur region of the Soviet Union were on display. They were mainly oil paintings, in addition to some prints, water-colour paintings and pen-and-ink drawings. On the opening day, several hundred people from various fields came to visit. Jiang Ronghui, chairman of the Heihe Prefectural Association of Art, published his impressions in a local newspaper, "Although this exhibition is not big, it signals the beginning of local cultural exchanges between China and the Soviet Union. Both Soviet oil painting and traditional Chinese painting occupy a dominant position in each country's paintings and both Chinese and Soviet artists wish to make further direct exchanges."

Last autumn, discussions on the comprehensive exploitation of the Heilong River valley were held at Heihe and Blagoveshchensk successively. Chinese and Soviet experts took up more than 20 theoretical problems including how to do comprehensive exploitation of the Heilong River valley, how to protect water resources and how to maintain ecological balance. The discussions will continue this year.

There are frequent friendly contacts between Chinese and Soviet armymen. According to an agreement signed last year between the departments concerned, China's Heihe prefectural frontier inspection station may independently meet with the Soviet Amur regional military subarea on the border. Also the frontier inspection department of Heihe City has established business relations with the frontier inspection department of Blagoveshchensk City. During the Spring Festival, the Heihe Military Subarea invited Soviet armymen to take part in a get-together. Soviet officers and soldiers freely expressed their views and the atmosphere was lively and harmonious throughout.

When I left Heihe City, the ice on the Heilong River was beginning to melt. Sprays of water flew in all directions as the bus passed. Within several days, the local people had told me, they would be hearing thunderous cracking sounds as enormous blocks of splitting ice dashed against each other.

**Article Views Opening of Moscow's Economic Doors**  
*OW2405102389 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW*  
*in English 15-21 May 89 pp 11-14*

[Article by Chen Huijun: "Moscow Opens Its Economic Doors"]

**[Text] Since the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the Soviet Union, while advancing the strategy of accelerated socio-economic development and all-out reform in the economic and political sectors, has adopted a series of policies to open its economy to the outside world. Some results have been achieved, yet difficulties and problems still persist.**

A review of Soviet foreign economic history reveals that the Soviet Union has for a long time been pursuing a market theory of "two parallel worlds," which limits Soviet economic activities to Eastern Europe.

As a result, the Soviet Union occupies a very small position in the world economy. In light of the new world technological revolution, the Soviet Union falls behind the fast pace of the world, failing to introduce advanced technologies or to conduct exchanges with developed countries. New industries in the Soviet Union lag behind the West.

The Soviet foreign economic mechanism is still far from meeting the demand of the new tasks facing the economy with its monotonous structure of exports and inadequate ability to earn foreign currency.

Above all, the closed economy has weakened Soviet economic, trade, financial and technological ties with the outside world, widening the gap between it and the developed industrial nations and threatening to weaken its economic might if no perestroika is carried out in the foreign economic sector.

Since coming to power in 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev reassessed international economic relations and advanced his concept of opening the Soviet economy to the outside world along with the strategy of fundamental economic reform at home.

**Major Policies and Measures**

The Soviet Union aims to reform its foreign trade system by transforming the export structure, strengthening the competitiveness of Soviet commodities and stopping irrational imports.

Another part of the opening campaign is to deepen the economic and technological integration between the Soviet Union and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance nations, strengthen economic links with Western countries and participate in international economic organizations.

The establishment of joint ventures is another major move under way. Other proposals under consideration include the internationalization of the Soviet ruble and prices. To ensure the implementation of the above plans, the Soviet Union established a national commission on foreign economic activities and added an international economic relations section to the Foreign Ministry.

**Western Europe Is the Focus**

Since 1980, the Soviet Union has been conducting its economic relations with Western Europe by introducing advanced equipment technologies and management skills, borrowing money and expanding exports.

Today, Western Europe has become an independent political force. Economically, there are acute conflicts between Western Europe and the United States, which will turn Western Europe to the Soviet Union for economic reasons.

Taking advantage of the trend, Gorbachev has visited major industrial countries in Western Europe and invited their heads of state and financial tycoons to visit Moscow. Two years of frequent mutual visits have established Western Europe's confidence and understanding—and even support—for Gorbachev.

Since 1988, the Soviet wooing of Western Europe has begun to yield results. Following Federal Germany's offer of some US\$1.6 billion as a loan for the Soviet Union to buy West German machinery to modernize the Soviet food industry, banks in France, Italy and Britain have also announced a US\$4.5 billion loan to meet Moscow's lack of foreign currency.

#### **Actively Participating In the International Division of Labour In the Asian-Pacific Region and Promoting the Development of the Far East**

In his speech delivered at Kransnoyarsk, Siberia, in mid-September in 1988, Gorbachev put forward a 7-point proposal on relaxation of the tension in Asia and the Pacific region. He stressed in his speech that the Soviet Union wanted economic co-operation with foreign countries in the exploitation of Siberia.

In March 1988, the Soviet Union set up a national committee for co-operation with Asian and Pacific nations to promote its economic exchanges with them. Its attitude towards the Asian-Pacific Economic Co-operation Committee has also been changed. It has expressed its willingness to join in the Asian Development Bank and begun taking an initiative in sharing the international division of labour in Asia and the Pacific region. Already, it has discussed ways and measures with Japan, China, South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia on the improvement of its foreign trade and strengthening technological and personnel exchanges as well as the establishment of joint ventures and mutual trade offices.

Since 1988, its economic relations with Japan and China have developed rapidly. It has reached agreements with Japan on the establishment of some joint ventures in fisheries and on building up a petrochemical base and a luxury hotel. In 1988, the volume of trade between the Soviet Union and Japan hit a historical record of U.S.\$5.9 billion. Along with improved Sino-Soviet relations, the trade volume between the two countries has increased greatly and will continue to increase after the summit meeting between the two countries' top leaders this month.

The economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and South Korea in 1989 has attracted world attention. The two countries have agreed on the mutual establishment of trade offices and co-operatively building a trade exhibition center which will cost U.S.\$40 million. They have also decided to open up direct ocean shipping from Pusan to Haishenwai. A large-scale South Korean trade exhibition will be held in Moscow in July this year.

#### **Active Development of Joint Ventures**

The Soviet Union previously established joint ventures abroad. On January 13, 1987, the Soviet Council of Ministers passed a decision on the establishment of joint ventures within the country. It is one of the important measures adopted by the Soviets in their economic reforms which aims at introducing advanced technology and learning and mastering advanced technologies and managerial experience from foreign countries.

Since the law on the establishment of joint ventures became effective, the number of such joint ventures in the Soviet Union has increased from 7 in 1987 to 192 in 1989. The money involved is estimated at U.S.\$1 billion. Among foreign investors, Federal Germany is the biggest. Now there are still about 500 projects which are under negotiation. The completion of some large-scale projects will help improve the country's export structure and play a role in replacing some products needed to be imported in the past. For example, an international consortium of four big firms from the United States, Italy and Japan has reached an agreement on jointly setting up a petrochemical complex off the Caspian Sea. About U.S.\$6 billion will be invested in the project, of which 49 percent is from foreign countries. The project in scale ranks first in the world. Half of its products, the polyacrylonitriles and polystyrenes, will be exported. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union is trying to enhance the number of joint ventures in foreign countries so as to become a world investor.

#### **Setting Up Special Economic Regions**

The Soviet attitude towards China's establishment of special economic zones has successively been that of opposition, suspicion, wait-and-see and approval. Now the Soviet Union is preparing to set up its first economic free zone along its border with Finland.

The task of this special economic zone is to import Western companies' technology and business experience, produce high-technological products together with Finnish and other companies and supply them to the Soviet Union, Finland and other countries. At present, companies from Sweden, Federal Germany and Ireland have shown interest in taking places in the zone.

Moreover, the Soviet Union is also preparing to set up a special economic zone in Nachodka in the Far East and is establishing a special organ responsible for coordinating foreign economic activities in its Far East region.

### Reforming the Foreign Trade Structure

Shortly after taking office, Gorbachev set up two special committees to study foreign trade structural reform. He has taken many measures to reform the management system and perfect the foreign trade structure. As for reform of the structure, the Soviet Union has established new external management organs so as to ensure the implementation of foreign economic strategy and the full development of foreign economic relations and put the power at lower levels, thus changing the practice of the state monopoly in trade.

Since January 2, 1987, besides having entrusted the power of direct foreign trade to 21 sectors and 76 large-scale enterprises, the Soviet Union has also set up more than 100 new foreign trade organizations and organs to participate in foreign trade. In 1988, the volume of their imports and exports accounted for 24 and 42 percent respectively of the Soviet totals.

Since April 1, 1989, enterprises, joint companies, producers' cooperatives and other organizations with products and services which are competitive on the international market can handle imports and exports directly. The foreign trade plan will also be changed from a mandatory system into a contractual one. In order to encourage enterprises to manufacture products of an advanced level in the world and to lift their initiative in exporting and earning foreign currency, the Soviet Union allows them to retain a part of foreign earnings in different proportions according to their respective export products and conditions of trade. The average is 33 percent. The enterprises can use the money to import machines and equipment they need.

On aspects of improving the import-export structure and strengthening the competitive power of export goods, the Soviet Union has decided to make efforts to change its traditional practice which took energy resources and raw and processed materials as the main exports, to increase exports of machines, equipment and other high-level processed products, and carry out strict import control and checks.

As a result, the proportion of machine and equipment exports in Soviet total exports went up to 16 percent in 1988, and the volume of foreign trade reached 132 billion rubles. The Soviet Union proposes to increase the proportion of machine and equipment exports to 50 percent before 2000.

### Positively Joining International Economic and Financial Organizations

The Soviet Union has changed its attitude from not recognizing the European Community (EC) to expressing willingness to approach it. It has finally decided to

develop relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the EC with this new attitude, recognized the EC as a single economic entity, and asked to establish formal relations between the two organizations.

With the efforts of the Soviet Union and East European countries, the CMEA and EC reached agreement in principle in May 1988, agreeing to recognize each other and establishing formal relations. In June, they again signed a joint statement. This action will promote the Soviet Union and East European countries' opening towards Western Europe and lay a foundation for the Soviet Union to set foot in the "single market of Europe" after 1992.

In the Asian-Pacific region the Soviet Union stopped its attacks on the Pacific Economic Co-operative Conference in 1987 and asked to be a formal member of this organization and to join the activities of its permanent organ. In May of 1988 Chairman of the National Committee for Soviet and Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation Pulimakov attended the sixth session of the conference held in Osaka, Japan, as a guest. At this session the Soviet representative suggested that this year the conference's seminar on mineral materials and energy be held in his country. The Soviet Union also plans to hold a conference to be attended by state or government heads to discuss the economic problems of the region so as to further strengthen economic co-operation.

Since 1986 the Soviet Union made formal application for membership in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), International Monetary Fund and World Bank in order to break the tariff barriers and gain more foreign capital. Though its applications were refused, it has still not given up its efforts. Besides, it has also made preparations for extensive international scientific co-operation, proposing to set up a world space organization and international cooperation to develop and use outer space.

While actively seeking to join international economic organizations, the Soviet Union has speeded up raising money on the international financial markets. In January of 1988 it for the first time issued Swiss franc bonds worth US\$65.3 million. It is reported that next it plans to issue bonds in Japanese yen.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union will simplify the system of currency settlements to prepare to make the ruble convertible. As of January 1, 1991, the Soviet government has decided to use a new exchange rate in settling foreign economic accounts and allow enterprises to have their own free foreign exchanges. Through a series of reform measures the Soviet plan is for the ruble to be freely exchanged with CMEA members in 1989 and gradually exchanged on the international market in the first half of the 1990s.

### Difficulties and Issues

The open-door policy of the Soviet Union will certainly promote the development of its relations with Western countries. The United States, however, is anxious about the warm development of the relationship between the Soviet Union and Western countries. It will check the scope and depth of the economic relationship between its allied countries and the Soviet Union in order to prevent the Soviet Union from catching up with or even surpassing the United States. Besides, there are various unfavourable factors in the world economic situation. For example, advanced Western industrialized countries are still facing many economic difficulties and a new tendency towards trade protectionism will probably grow. These factors, along with the falling of the oil price and the US dollar exchange rate, will restrict the extent of the Soviet Union's open-door policy.

Although the ossified economic system formed over several decades has been shaken up over the past two years, it will for a fairly long period continue to exert an adverse influence on the Soviet Union's domestic economy and its economic relations with other countries. Bureaucracy will be hard to overcome in a short time. And the backwardness in science and technology will prevent the Soviet Union from rapidly absorbing, applying and transforming Western techniques. In agriculture, there can hardly be any change in importing grain with the expenditure of large sums of foreign currencies. In foreign trade, although reforming and opening will make positive contributions, it is impossible to increase trade volume greatly in a short period. The unitary export structure is also hard to change in a short time.

The West still hesitates to run joint ventures in the Soviet Union because the law on joint ventures still has some problems. For example, within the economic system there are many interactions with bureaucracy being an obstacle. The Western corporations fear bureaucracy and prolonged negotiations. The law for running joint ventures has strict limitations upon capital proportions, taxation and taking profits out of the Soviet Union. Western investors are dissatisfied with the limitations because they worry that they will gain little. There is no complete law system, therefore, the basis for normal investment is lacking. Without corporation law or investment law, the foreign corporations fear that their capital would be socialized and their profits swallowed. Furthermore, the aims of the two sides are different. The Soviet Union is interested in enlarging the export of products through joint ventures while foreigners hope to enter the Soviet market.

However, as with the domestic reform, it is impossible for the Soviet Union to withdraw after it has started its open-door policy.

### Soviet Citizens Praise Normalization With PRC *OW2505093589 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1600 GMT 19 May 89*

[From the "International News and Current Events" program]

[Text] Soviet people of all walks of life warmly welcome the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and regard it as a major current event which will have an enormous impact on the future development of Soviet-Chinese relations and on stabilizing the Asian-Pacific situation and the situation of the whole world.

Katushev, Soviet minister of foreign relations, says that no assessment of the results of Gorbachev's talks with Chinese leaders can be excessive. He maintains that the visit was of real historical significance. It is an event which had been viewed with anticipation by an overwhelming majority of the Soviet people and supported by the Chinese for a long time. He says he had hoped this would happen for nearly 30 years.

Arbatov, a noted scholar and a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, says: Gorbachev's China visit means that a wish, the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, of both Soviet statesmen and the Soviet people has come true. He maintains that the disappearance of military confrontation on the world's longest borderline is conducive to easing tension in the Far East and to international detente. Both China and the Soviet Union and their neighboring states can now enjoy a greater sense of security. The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and the sharing of more common language between the Soviet Union, China, and the United States, Japan, and other Asian nations will play a positive role in mediating the situation in Asia's hot spots and in Indochina.

IZVESTIYA Chief Editor Laptev says: Because today is a holiday, I have just come back from the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee. There, both professors and teachers, without a single exception, all say the visit was a very important one. They are all well-experienced people and all have looked forward to the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. At long last, this has come true. Laptev says: Over the past 25 years, there have been two important issues which we could no longer tolerate: the threat of war and poor Soviet-Chinese relations. Now both problems have finally been solved. Laptev also said: It was a historical event. Soviet-Chinese relations have reached a new level. As for poor Soviet-Chinese relations in the past, first of all, we ourselves were to blame. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put it nicely: Let the wind carry away with it all unpleasant things of the past, and let us look forward together. There is great potential for cooperation between the two countries in many areas.

**Soviet Editorials Comment on Sino-Soviet Summit**  
HK2505073089 Beijing *RENMIN RIBAO* in Chinese  
22 May 89 p 3

[XINHUA report: "PRAVDA Says Normalization of Soviet-Chinese Relations Is a Major Achievement of Gorbachev's Visit to China"]

[Text] Moscow, 21 May—The Soviet newspaper PRAVDA published an editorial today on the end of the Sino-Soviet summit conference, in which it is said that the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations is a major achievement of Gorbachev's visit to China.

The editorial pointed out that this is an unusual incident, for which both sides had shown their wisdom, sense of responsibility, and the persisting spirit to overcome passivity and prejudice.

PRAVDA thinks that the Sino-Soviet summit conference enabled the Sino-Soviet relations to enter a completely new stage in which Sino-Soviet relations will develop on the principle of mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, no attack against each other, noninterference in each other's domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefits and peaceful coexistence.

IZVESTIYA also pointed out in an editorial on the evening of 20 May that both sides' commitment to promoting the sound development of the international situation mentioned in the Sino-Soviet joint declaration is an important contribution to the strengthening of peace and security. To achieve this goal, the USSR is in favor of establishing a new political thinking in international relations, while China thinks that a new international political order should be built on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

**Political & Social**

**Leadership Remains Unclear; Maneuvering Continues**

**Deng Promised Military Support**

HK2505005189 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA  
MORNING POST in English 25 May 89 pp 1, 2

[From Willy Lam, Marlowe Hood, and Seth Faison in Beijing and David Chen]

[Text] Senior Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping has been promised the "unreserved support" of the military in his efforts to assert control in the leadership crisis gripping China.

But Mr Deng has had to pay a high price in meeting certain conditions applied by the military.

These include a larger political role, a bigger share of the budget and assurances for a return to orthodox Marxism-Leninism.

Sources said that with the People's Liberation Army (PLA) supporting Mr Deng, and the People's Armed Police already actively behind Prime Minister Li Peng, it remains to be seen if the militia, which number about 10 million, would also back Mr Deng.

Mr Deng early this week formed a high-level body within the Central Military Commission (CMC) to tackle the political crisis.

He has established a National Leading Group To Prevent Turmoil (NLGPT) within the commission, the country's highest military organisation of which he is chairman.

The task of the group, with Mr Deng as head, is to handle the challenge posed to the regime by students, intellectuals and workers.

The deputy leader is President Yang Shangkun, executive vice-chairman and secretary-general of the CMC.

Defence Minister General Qin Jiwei, who was formerly commander of the Beijing Military Region, is the body's general secretary.

The formation of the NLGPT, political analysts in the capital say, means that the Chinese Communist Party will persist with its hard line against students and liberals.

That the headquarters for curbing the mass movement for democracy is located within the CMC—and not the State Council—also signals a considerable militarisation of political life in China.

By winning concessions from Mr Deng in helping to solve the current crisis, the military would like to see itself with the considerable influence it wielded before the Cultural Revolution.

The PLA, the country's regular Armed Forces with some three million men, is under both the party's Military Affairs Commission and the CMC.

The People's Armed Police, created only a few years ago, is charged with maintaining law and order largely in the urban regions.

It falls under the direction of the country's security establishment, controlled by Politburo Standing Committee member, Mr Qiao Shi.

The militia, which could call up about 10 million men and women, has long been a loose group of military units called into action only in times of emergency.

Members of the militia are ordinary citizens or ex-servicemen and train only for a specified number of weeks a year.

Mr Deng is understood to be determined to have a political solution to the current crisis by Saturday at the latest.

The major decisions in achieving it are expected to come from two crucial meetings to be convened today or tomorrow.

A session of the Party Central Committee will meet to resolve the leadership crisis and the fate of party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) will address the issues of martial law and student demonstrations.

The chairman of the NPC and a member of the party Politburo, Mr Wan Li, cut short a visit to Washington and is due back in the capital today.

Mr Wan cited "reasons of health" for his early return.

A long-time ally of Mr Deng, Mr Wan may also be called upon to fill a top position that falls vacant.

More than 20 municipalities, provinces and autonomous regions have cabled Beijing supporting the party centre, the martial law and other measures adopted in the current crisis.

Sources said the remaining few provinces are expected to follow suit in the few hours before the Central Committee meeting.

According to military sources, the NLGPT decided early this week to temporarily refrain from moving troops now billeted on the outskirts of Beijing into the city centre.

However, once the vigilance of the students and Beijing residents lapses, analysts expect the NLGPT to order the "military occupation" of Beijing.

More troops were being deployed to the capital from various military regions.

So far, sources said, elements of armies from at least five military regions—Beijing, Shenyang, Jinan, Chengdu and Guangzhou—are in the vicinity of Beijing.

The many army units also represent differing allegiances.

In the early stages of the student unrest, the 38th Army from Baoding, southern Hebei, was deployed but soldiers refused to obey orders to be tough with the students.

The 27th Army from Shijiazhuang, capital of Hebei, was then dispatched, essentially to supervise the 38th Army.

The NLGPT will also have a role in muzzling liberal intellectuals accused of spreading Westernised political ideas.

"The fact that the 84-year-old Mr Deng is head of the NLGPT means that the patriarch is personally involved in quelling what he regards as political turmoil," said a Western diplomat.

"Moreover, the formation of the body means that the battle against westernised, 'bourgeois-liberal' ideas—which Mr Deng has said is behind the turmoil—will be 'a long-term struggle'."

Political observers note that soon after the end of the student movement of December 1986, Mr Deng said that Beijing has to "wage an anti-bourgeois liberal campaign for 70 years".

Sources also said that Premier Li has personally taken over the imposition of martial law in Beijing.

Mr Li doubles as head of the Commanding Headquarters of Martial Law in Beijing (CHMLB), which was set up early in the week to ensure that martial law works smoothly in the capital.

Mr Deng, however, has moved to dissociate himself from the martial law declaration.

According to one government source, Mr Deng asserted in a meeting late on Tuesday that he was not properly consulted, as chairman of the CMC, in the decision to order martial law.

The order was actually issued by President Yang, as vice-chairman, and was announced by Mr Li on a nationwide television broadcast.

"Although everyone knew Deng Xiaoping supported a crackdown, for four days he said nothing about martial law.

"Now that it has failed, he can pretend it was someone else's mistake," said an official source.

Rallies demanding Mr Li's resignation continued unabated yesterday in the capital and in many other cities.

At Tiananmen Square, demonstrating students carried an effigy of Mr Li, complete with cucumber nose and oil can head, as they chanted demands for his resignation.

"Students are aware that different groups are trying to use them for different purposes," said a Chinese journalist.

"They know we can be most effective by showing how much everyone hates Li Peng."

Informed sources say that a high priority of both Mr Deng's NLGPT and Mr Li's CHMLB is to purge and isolate the followers of Mr Zhao, whom Mr Deng had called a "traitor" and "counter-revolutionary". Zhao, whom Mr Deng had called a "traitor" and "counter-revolutionary".

Mr Zhao, who is expected to be formally stripped of all his party posts, remained in his quarters in Zhongnanhai yesterday and was in good health, a source who met one of his children yesterday said.

He was not under house arrest but did not dare leave the residential compound where most of the top leaders live, the source reported.

He has not been seen in public since his tearful appeal to hunger-striking students last Friday to leave Tiananmen Square.

The source said that Mr Zhao's child, as well as Mr Zhao himself, were aware of a leadership meeting chaired by Mr Li, at which plans were laid to publicly criticise him.

Many of China's top leaders, including a majority of the 16-man Politburo, have apparently aligned themselves against Mr Zhao in the power struggle.

A complex and fluid network of allegiances within the military and fear of a massive popular reaction have prevented conservative elders from openly ousting Mr Zhao.

However, Mr Hu Qili, member of the Politburo Standing Committee, and Mr Ruo Xingwen, member of the Central Committee Secretariat, are reported to have been ousted from power.

Mr Hu used to head the Leading Group on Ideology and Thought (LGIT), which has overall authority over such matters as propaganda and the media.

Mr Rui, a former party secretary of Shanghai, was Mr Hu's deputy.

At the suggestion of Mr Li, a new five-member LGIT has been appointed to look after propaganda matters.

It is headed by Mr Wang Renzhi, chief of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee.

Mr Wang, a protege of leftist ideologue Mr Deng Liqun, has the reputation of being a hard-liner Marxist-Leninist.

Other members of the LGIT include State Council spokesman Yuan Mu, Vice-Chief of the Propaganda Department Zeng Jianhui, Vice-minister of the State Education Commission Mr He Dongchang, and head of the Beijing Municipal Propaganda Department, Mr Li Zhijian.

The four are well-known conservatives who bitterly oppose the spread of "bourgeois liberalisation".

Both Mr Yuan and Mr He have been major executors of Mr Li's tough line on the student movement.

Since the imposition of martial law, the LGIT has asked the capital's media to cast the student movement as an instance of mass-scale social disorder.

Chinese officials last night again cut satellite television news transmissions by foreign broadcasters.

The NBC and CBS television networks said they were told by Chinese broadcasting authorities, presumably acting on instructions from the new LGIT regime, that transmissions would cease at midnight.

The networks were given no explanation.

Television satellite links were restored only on Tuesday after being cut with the imposition of martial law last Saturday.

Martial law regulations severely restrict foreign journalists and photographers from news coverage in the capital.

In the meantime, two of Mr Zhao's close associates, Mr Tian Jiyun and Mr Li Tieying are reported by Chinese sources to have "crossed over to the other side".

Vice-Premier Tian, one of whose briefs is the open door policy, has been a close follower of Mr Zhao for two decades.

Until recently, Mr Li Tieying, Minister of the State Education Commission, had adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the students.

Chinese analysts believe that, to preserve their positions, both Mr Tian and Mr Li are expected to remain silent in the face of the on-going effort by party conservatives to dump Mr Zhao.

The one Zhao aide who refuses either to step aside or to change sides is Mr Yan Mingfu, who is a member of the Central Committee Secretariat and chief of United Front.

After learning about the reverses that the Zhao camp had suffered, Mr Yan reportedly told his close associates: "If the worse comes to the worst, I'll go to Qinching prison a second time."

A newspaper editor said: "Mr Yan is referring to the fact that during the Cultural Revolution, he was incarcerated by Gang of Four radicals in the Qinching prison in Beijing."

The two major beneficiaries of the on-going political upheaval are Premier Li and President Yang.

Once the news of Mr Zhao is announced, say Chinese sources, Mr Li will be made acting general secretary. It is also likely that he will be appointed a vice-chairman of the CMC.

According to reliable Chinese sources, while Mr Deng continues to pull strings from behind the scenes, Mr Li and Mr Yang now handle all major affairs of state.

"Since the imposition of martial law in Beijing, Mr Li and Mr Yang work within the same building beside a scenic lake in Zhongnanhai," said a political source.

"Until the student crisis, Mr Yang played a merely ceremonial role in non-military affairs."

**TANJUG: Deng Hospitalized**  
LD2405170989 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1548 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Beijing, May 24 (TANJUG)—Major political decisions will be made in Beijing on Thursday at meetings of the extended Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the permanent committee of the National People's Congress (parliament)

The decisions will almost certainly relate to changes in China's top.

The holding of the meetings, although not officially announced, is no longer a secret. The lines of demonstrators, who are again making their way towards Beijing's Tiananmen Square, are informing citizens on tomorrow's sessions.

Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen spoke cautiously of the meetings at a dinner organized for the ambassadors of the European Community countries on Tuesday evening.

In response to a direct question, Qian, who is not a member of the top party forums, said that Zhao Ziyang was still the party general secretary.

When asked whether Li Peng would resign as premier, Qian refused to answer.

The fact that Qian said Zhao was still the party leader certainly satisfies the formal side of matters as under the party statute, the general secretary is chosen and replaced by the Central Committee only and the Central Committee has not met.

Probably after outvoting in the permanent Politburo Committee, where he remained in the minority, Zhao de facto left the highest party post and has, for now at least, been removed from it.

Zhao, who until three days ago was recovering from exhaustion in a military hospital, will nevertheless attend tomorrow's Politburo session and will again be able to set forth his arguments against the introduction of a state of emergency.

As learned, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping was also in hospital.

Protests continue in Tiananmen Square. More and more people are arriving, including workers carrying food and warm clothing and covers for the students who will spend the night in the square.

Slogans calling for the resignations of Deng and Li again appeared this afternoon.

#### **Li Peng: Government Stable**

*OW2505104489 Beijing Domestic Service  
in Mandarin 0930 GMT 25 May 89*

[From the "National Hookup" program]

[Text] Station report: During his meeting with three new foreign ambassadors at Zhongnanhai's Ziguang Hall this afternoon, Premier Li Peng of the State Council briefed them on China's current situation.

He said: Currently, some abnormal things have happened in China, and turmoil is even appearing in some places. However, the Chinese Government is stable and is capable of performing its tasks and appropriately [two shan] resolving the problems occurring at present.

Li Peng said: Our decision to enforce martial law in some areas of Beijing Municipality was promulgated in accordance with the stipulations of Clause 16 of Article 89 of the Constitution. It is a precautionary measure to firmly stop

the disturbances. We transferred some PLA units from other localities here to assist the capital's armed police and public security police in maintaining social order in Beijing Municipality, ensuring the safety of property and the daily life of the citizens, protecting public property from being infringed upon, and safeguarding the execution of the normal official duties of the party Central Committee, state organs, and the Beijing municipal People's government. The PLA troops performing their duties at radio and television stations and other units are only responsible for defending these key departments. The work of these departments is still operating according to normal work procedures. The martial law measures are specially prescribed by the orders issued by the Beijing municipal people's government.

Premier Li Peng said: Martial law is different from military control. In English, the same phrase is usually used for the two things. Judging from the military control enforced in some countries, it is generally a measure taken by the military authorities to take over all or part of the government functions, because the whole country or some localities are out of control and the government is unable to effectively enforce its administrative functions. There is no such situation in China at present. People can easily see that the martial law enforced in our country is different from military control.

Premier Li Peng said: Martial law has entered its sixth day. The troops responsible for enforcing martial law have met with some obstructions and have not entered the city proper. People with common sense can all see that it is not because the PLA units do not have the capability to enter the city, but because our government is a government of the people and our Army is the people's own army. Under the situation in which the people still do not fully understand the meaning of martial law, the Army has taken the utmost attitude of restraint in order to avoid conflicts to the greatest extent.

Premier Li Peng said: We believe that safeguarding stability and order in the capital accords with the interests of the people of Beijing Municipality and the interests of the state, and will eventually gain the people's understanding and support.

Li Peng said: The Chinese Government will firmly pursue an independent foreign policy of peace. The ambassadors here today are all from Third World countries. China is also a developing country. Strengthening friendship and cooperation with Third World countries is a basic element of China's foreign policy.

Premier Li Peng said: China's reform and opening policy will not change. Great achievements have been made in the last 10 years of reform and opening to the outside world. The standardbearer of China's reform and opening to the outside world is Comrade Deng Xiaoping, not somebody else.

Li Peng said: This government [bei jie zheng fu] has the determination to continue implementing the reform and opening policy unswervingly and, on the basis of summarizing the experience gained, to carry out the reform and open policy even more successfully.

He said: The events occurring recently are entirely China's internal affairs. It is hoped that foreign countries, especially those which maintain good relations with China, will not interfere in one way or another.

He said: Things in China are very complicated. Foreign friends may not be able to see things clearly for a while, but they can now see a little more. There is no harm in observing things a little longer before making a judgment.

Premier Li Peng said: There are a lot of people taking part in demonstrations, boycotting of classes, and sit-ins. The great majority of them are young students. There are also people from other quarters of society. I believe that the original intention of the overwhelming majority of them is good. They hope that China will make progress, and they demand that the government eliminate corruption. Many of their views are identical with those of the party and the government. There are no fundamental contradictions between them and the party and government. However, I believe that the great majority of them do not understand the truth of the matter. Once they understand the truth of the matter, the distance between them and the party and government in the matter of understanding will narrow. I am fully confident of this.

Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, who was present at the meeting, said: The Foreign Ministry is a department of the Chinese Government. It will actively support the work of the ambassadors. I believe that, like the Foreign Ministry, other departments of the government will also offer assistance to your work.

The three new ambassadors were (E-en-bao-ba) from Nigeria, Navarrete of Mexico, and Tin Aung Tun from Burma.

**Li Peng Appears on TV**  
HK2505111789 Hong Kong AFP in English  
1114 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Beijing, May 25 (AFP)—Prime Minister Li Peng made his first public appearance since martial law was declared last Saturday and defended his decision to bring in the military on Chinese television here Thursday.

Mr Li, who called in troops to quell pro-democracy unrest in the Chinese capital, was shown on the main television evening news broadcast welcoming foreign dignitaries and answering questions before the cameras on military intervention and student-led protest.

Some 150,000 troops mobilised by Mr Li to "restore order" in the capital were blockaded by Beijing residents on the outskirts of the city and were withdrawn to the western suburbs on Wednesday.

His reappearance seemed to scotch speculation that he may have lost his job or at least been sidelined following a bitter power struggle in the government and the Communist Party leadership, analysts said.

**Li Affirms Deng Supremacy**  
HK2505132489 Hong Kong AFP in English  
1259 GMT 25 May 89

[Excerpt] Beijing, May 25 (AFP)—The power struggle for the leadership of the world's most populous nation moved towards a climax here Thursday with China's conservative Premier Li Peng declaring victory on television.

Mr Li, who disappeared from public view for six days after his martial law decree on Saturday, returned to centre stage with a clear message of triumph when he entertained foreign dignitaries and made a dramatic assessment of the current situation in Beijing.

His remarks constituted a clear statement to the Chinese people that Mr Li and his conservative backers are now in charge, analysts said.

Senior leader Deng Xiaoping, who has opposed pro-democracy dialogue and reformist pressure, is the "standard bearer" for China, and "not any other man," Mr Li declared on television.

The words amounted to an epitaph for the reformist group behind Mr Zhao Ziyang, the Communist Party general secretary, who opposed the use of military force to suppress student unrest and has been out of the public eye since last Friday, analysts said.

Mr Li, appearing confident and relaxed in an upholstered armchair, said: "China's open-door and economic reform policy cannot change.

"During the last 10 years of economic reform and open-door policies we have achieved many great results... The standard bearer of the opening up and the economic reform is Comrade Deng and it is not any other man," he added.

Speculation that he may have lost his job or at least been sidelined evaporated as Mr Li spoke with the confidence of a man who had won support from the military and backing from China's 30 provincial and city governments.

In a conciliatory gesture to pro-democracy student demonstrators who have demanded his overthrow, he said: "The patriotic aims of the demonstrators are the same as those of the government and the party. There are no basic contradictions between them (the demonstrators) and the party and government."

But he also defended the Army and said his call to bring in the troops "was in accordance with the interests of all the city's people and the entire nation."

He acknowledged that troops mobilised to put an end to the "chaos" on Friday night had been blocked from entering the city, but suggested that it was "naive" to believe the failure was a display of weakness on his part.

"Martial law has now entered its sixth day," he said. "The martial law troops have been obstructed and have not entered the city centre.

"Anyone with basic common sense can see that the reason the People's Liberation Army (PLA) did not enter the city is not because they do not have the power, but because our government is the people's government and our Armed Forces are the forces of our brothers and sisters."

Since May 13th hundreds of thousands of students have marched in and occupied central Tiananmen Square, winning popular support in their push for democratisation of China and their bitter opposition to Mr Li, a hardliner opposed to dialogue and backed by conservative forces represented chiefly by elder statesman Mr Deng and President Yang Shangkun.

Mr Li said the "great majority" of demonstrators did not understand the real situation and added that he was confident that the confrontation, which has brought the centre of Beijing to a standstill and disrupted the programme of the historic Sino-Soviet summit last week, would be resolved.

"Once they (the demonstrators) do understand the true face of the situation, the distance of understanding between them and the government will be reduced. I am full of confidence about this," he added. [passage omitted]

**PLA Support for Li Peng**  
HK2505022889 Hong Kong AFP in English  
0222 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Beijing, May 25 (AFP)—The People's Liberation Army (PLA) Thursday reaffirmed its support for Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng and called for unwavering implementation of a martial law crackdown on pro-democracy unrest.

In a frontpage article in the official Communist Party newspaper, the PEOPLE'S DAILY, the headquarters of the PLA general staff, the PLA's general political department, and the PLA's logistical department called on the Armed Forces to "act without hesitation" to implement the martial law decree.

The hardline message was the most unambiguous so far from the Army in support of Mr Li, who called in the PLA to quell pro-democracy demonstrations and imposed martial law in eight districts of the capital Saturday.

The statement said the "challenge to socialism" was becoming "more and more critical" and the future of the nation was threatened by a "severe political struggle."

The Army must be "totally clear" on where it stands on the issue, the message said, urging soldiers to "study in depth" Mr Li's televised speech when he called in the Army to quell "chaos and anarchy" in the city caused by pro-democracy demonstrations.

The message was in sharp contrast to conciliatory statements from the Army reported over the last few days in the press. It urged soldiers to study a People's Daily editorial of April 26 attributed to China's hardline senior leader Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Communist Party Central Committee's Military Commission and de facto commander of the Army.

The vitriolic editorial, accusing students of "plotting to overthrow the Communist Party leadership and the socialist system", provoked a massive demonstration the following day when half a million protesters took to the streets calling for the article to be revoked and the pro-democracy movement to be reassessed.

Several Chinese leaders, including party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, rejected the editorial and have referred to pro-democracy students as "patriotic."

Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators have called for the overthrow of Mr Li and for democratic reforms since students occupied central Tiananmen Square on May 13.

They still control the square despite the threat of military intervention.

According to official sources some 150,000 troops mobilised by Mr Li were awaiting fresh orders after being withdrawn Tuesday to a temporary encampment in the western suburbs.

They had been prevented from entering Beijing by residents who threw up barricades on the outskirts.

Thursday's PEOPLE'S DAILY article reproduced almost word for word the April 26 editorial and called on soldiers to study the significance of their task to "impose" martial law, and to obey without question the orders of the Central Committee Military Commission and the Army Chiefs of Staff.

"A small minority of people are provoking strife and disorder in an attempt to reject the Communist Party and the socialist system," the article said.

Deep splits have been apparent in the armed services, the Communist Party and the Chinese Government over martial law which has so far failed to be effectively imposed, observers said.

Most Army officers and officials from China's 3.2 million strong PLA quoted recently in the official press have come down in favour of the withdrawal of some 150,000 troops from the outskirts of the city.

Two most respected officers, Marshals Nie Rongzhen and Xu Xuangjian, both Long March veterans, said Sunday that the Army would refuse orders to "open fire on the people" in comments widely interpreted as against Mr Li's call for military intervention.

#### More on Army Support

*HY2505031589 Hong Kong HONGKONG STANDARD in English 25 May 89 p 6*

[By Ma Miu-wah]

[Text] All except one military unit in China have vowed to support hardline Premier Li Peng's imposition of martial law in parts of Beijing, a Communist Party newspaper said.

In a related move, new troops were yesterday deployed in the outskirts of Beijing as others were withdrawn.

Asian diplomats said the attitude of the Army may finally decide the outcome of the power struggle currently taking place in the highest leadership.

The party's newspaper, the PEOPLE'S DAILY, yesterday published front-page messages of support for Mr Li from party committees in the Air Force, the Navy and seven military regions.

The messages appeared to indicate general support by the committees in all military units in China—except the Beijing Military Area Command, which had yet to make its stance known.

According to the PEOPLE'S DAILY, telegrams were sent by all the units' military commanders urging the Army to take stern action to impose martial law which has been virtually ignored for the past five days.

"The party committee of the Air Force appealed to all personnel to follow firmly the directives of the party centre and the Military Commission in order to make a contribution towards suppressing chaos and protecting social order," the PEOPLE'S DAILY quoted one message as saying.

The LIBERATION ARMY DAILY, mouthpiece of the military, reported all Army units strongly supported the decisions of the party and the government to impose martial law.

The Army leadership also urged soldiers to read the April 26 editorial of the PEOPLE'S DAILY lambasting the student movement so that they could "fully understand the nature of this struggle and the mission of enforcing martial law".

Soldiers of the General Staff Headquarters were reported to have passed a unanimous resolution to quell the turmoil.

They vowed to take a "clear cut stance" to halt unrest and firmly support the party and the government.

All units have been reported to have held sessions in the past few days to study the recent order.

The General Political Department of the PLA claimed soldiers commonly felt "the decision of the party and the State Council won the hearts of the Army and the people".

The claims of support came despite continuing questions about military backing for the government's attempts at a crackdown, and doubts about its willingness to obey Mr Li's orders.

Senior military figures have indicated troops are opposed to spilling the blood of fellow Chinese. Two days before yesterday's messages appeared, more than 100 senior Army officers signed a letter seeking an end to martial law.

Meanwhile, new troops were sent by train from outside Beijing to a suburban station.

At Sha He Station, 30 kilometres north of Tiananmen Square, 700 soldiers, believed to be infantry, arrived from Liaoning province, northeast of Beijing.

Students and Beijing citizens flocked to persuade the new arrivals the current student movement was a peaceful one.

They gave the soldiers newspapers carrying reports of the students and citizens' demonstration calling for the resignation of Mr Li.

Troops around the outskirts of Beijing were pulled out but students said they had not left the capital area.

The English-language newspaper CHINA DAILY, quoting local residents, said most of the troops sent in by Mr Li to quell prodemocracy protests had been pulled out to a temporary camp in the western suburbs.

According to CHINA YOUTH DAILY, the last convoy of nine military trucks left for a base west of the city on Tuesday.

An estimated 150,000 troops had been brought in by Mr Li since martial law was declared.

**Provincial Support Increases**

HK2505133489 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE  
in Chinese 1252 GMT 25 May 89

[Report: "More Provinces and Regions Send Cables to the Central Authorities To Express Their Support for Stabilizing the Entire Situation"—ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE headline]

[Text] Beijing 25 May (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)—According to newspapers published here, more leading organs of party committees and governments of provinces and autonomous regions have sent cables to the CPC Central Committee and State Council to express their support for the measures adopted by the central authorities to stabilize the situation.

These provinces and region are: Guangxi, Liaoning, Zhejiang, and Guizhou.

In their cables, the leading organs of these provinces and regions have expressed the decision made by the Central Committee and State Council on restoring order in the capital city.

**President Yang Cancels Trip**

OW2505102489 Tokyo KYODO in English  
0954 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Beijing, May 25 KYODO—China's President Yang Shangkun has put off a planned visit to Latin America amid signs of a deepening political crisis triggered by weeks of student unrest, the Foreign Ministry said Thursday.

Ministry spokeswoman Li Jinhua told a news conference that there is "no change of positions" in the top leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and government.

She, however, refused to answer any question on the power struggle that is believed to be raging inside the party.

"Comrade Zhao Ziyang is still general secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee," Li told the weekly news briefing for foreign reporters.

Tens of thousands of people again took to the streets Thursday in Beijing to call for the resignation of Premier Li Peng and an end to martial law, now in its sixth day.

She said Yang canceled the trip to four Latin American countries, slated to begin on May 30, because of a "new arrangement of his work."

Yang is the second top Chinese official whose overseas travel plans have been disrupted by the student protests and massive demonstrations which prompted the imposition of martial law in parts of Beijing last Saturday.

Wan Li, chairman of the National People's Congress cut short a visit to the United States and returned to Shanghai on Thursday.

The state-run XINHUA NEWS AGENCY said Wan was staying in Shanghai for "medical treatment."

The disruptions of the two visits, however, were believed to be associated with the struggle being unfolded between hardliners and a more liberal faction over the student campaign which has erupted into a mass movement for democracy throughout China.

The hardliners seemed to be gaining the upper hand, an indication given by reports in the official media Thursday that Li had "entrusted" a close aide to visit troops and armed police guarding key government offices.

That was the first direct reference to Li in the state-controlled media since he promulgated martial law last Saturday.

Zhao, who favors a more conciliatory approach on student-led protests demanding more freedom and democracy, has not been mentioned by the official media since he made an emotional predawn visit last Friday to Tiananmen Square.

The students who have occupied the square since May 13 have vowed to continue their occupation unless and until Li steps down.

About 100,000 protesters—mostly intellectuals and students—marched in Beijing Thursday afternoon to press for Li's resignation.

The turnout was a far cry from a similar protest march on Tuesday in which XINHUA said a million people took part.

Authorities have so far made no serious move to stop the demonstrations.

The state radio said Thursday morning the troops were still on the outskirts of Beijing "waiting for orders."

Student fears about a possible military crackdown intensified Thursday after the state radio and television repeatedly broadcast a tough-worded message by the top military command that charged that the disturbances have yet to subside.

"A small number of people are still fanning and creating disturbances so as to negate the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system," it said.

The message dated Monday was addressed to martial law enforcement troops and issued in the name of the People's Liberation Army General Staff Headquarters, the General Political Department and the General Logistics Department, the military's top command structure.

The message, however, also hinted at opposition within the military against using force, calling on the troops to "unflinchingly obey" orders by the martial law command.

Meanwhile, the party hardliners appeared to have put the official media outlets and major communications facilities under military control to pave the way for a military crackdown.

There was also telltale signs of military censorship beginning Wednesday night when XINHUA put out a series of corrections to its previous stories including one that called the prodemocracy campaign as a "great movement." The expression was later changed to "incident."

XINHUA also acknowledged for the first time the presence of troops in Beijing's telegraph office, and the state television and radio broadcasting offices when it reported that Luo Gan, secretary-general of the State Council, visited the troops there "as entrusted by Premier Li."

Overseas satellite relay service by the state television network was once again suspended from midnight Wednesday.

### **Qiao Shi Said To Replace Zhao**

*HK2505010989 Hong Kong HONGKONG STANDARD in English 25 May 89 p 1*

[By Tammy Tam in Beijing]

[Text] Communist Party General-Secretary Zhao Ziyang and Premier Li Peng may both be casualties in China's political crisis.

An enlarged meeting of the party Politburo, in its third day yesterday, is believed to have a proposal before it that Politburo Standing Committee member Mr Qiao Shi replace Mr Zhao.

It is understood the increasingly unpopular Mr Li's position has been tipped to go to another Standing Committee member, Mr Yao Yilin.

The enlarged meeting of the Politburo was held at Xishan, the headquarters of the General Logistics Department of the People's Liberation Army.

This is also where paramount leader Deng Xiaoping is arranging Army deployment under Beijing's martial law order, according to an informed source.

In a confrontation the anti-Li Peng faction, including Mr Li Xiannian, chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Mr Qiao, and some members of the party Central Advisory Commission, accused Mr Li and State President Yang Shangkun of preparing a coup d'état by imposing martial law in Beijing.

Charges against Mr Zhao include the organizing of counter-revolutionary cliques and being the biggest official profiteer.

The source said if Mr Deng decided to declare Mr Zhao and his close aides a "counter-revolutionary clique" and, to prevent a counter-offensive, the paramount leader would put the nation under full military control.

And as tension mounted in the capital, the news blackout imposed under martial law was suddenly reimposed, after being lifted for less than 30 hours.

International Direct Dial facilities were also cut.

The state-owned China Central Television (CCTV) told foreign media about 6 pm yesterday that transmission would be banned by midnight. No official explanation was given, but a CCTV official told Beijing reporters it was "somewhat related" to the political crisis.

"It is definitely related to martial law," he said.

Meanwhile, a third political force including veteran Army generals such as Marshals Nie Rongzhen and Xu Xiangqian emerged yesterday.

This group, which opposes violence against demonstrators, was said to be neutral in the leadership power struggle.

Another informed source said Mr Zhao would step down within days in the coming fourth plenary session of the Central Committee.

"Mr Zhao is almost doomed after being accused as head of counter-revolutionary cliques at Tuesday's meeting," a source said.

More party leaders are gathering in Beijing for an important meeting of the party. Some said it would be the enlarged meeting of the Politburo and others said it was the full session of the Central Committee.

Mr Xu Jiatun, the XINHUA director in Hong Kong, arrived in Beijing last night.

Meanwhile, more troops were deployed around Beijing yesterday. An informed source said eight armies were sent to the capital, two coming from Jinan and two from Shenyang.

It was said the first army marching into the capital was the one under control of General Yan Baibing, brother of Mr Yang.

In China, only the chairman of the Central Military Commission has the power to order a group army to move. At present, there are 24 group armies.

On Tuesday, Air Force planes transported weapons and living necessities through Nanyuan military airport. There are about 500,000 soldiers deployed around Beijing.

An Army officer interviewed by CCTV said the troops were waiting for further orders but did not come to suppress the students.

Analysts said the number of armies mobilised had far exceeded that needed to handle the student unrest.

Mr Deng was prepared for any possible coup by bringing in troops, the sources said.

"Deng is still firmly in control of the Army. More military area commanders have openly showed their support to martial law. That does not mean they support Li Peng. They support Deng because there will be no excuse to send in troops without martial law," a source said.

Meanwhile, a group of members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress are continuing their effort to collect more signatures in support of a special urgent meeting.

A Standing Committee member said yesterday they were preparing material to be used against Mr Li and they would call for the premier's resignation if the special NPC session could be convened.

Mr Huang Shunxing, a Taiwan-native member of the NPC Standing Committee, said that by yesterday they had collected 57 signatures.

But Mr Peng Chong, Secretary-General of the NPC Standing Committee, said some leaders would not favour such a meeting because a number of NPC delegates would suggest an end to one-man rule.

Meanwhile, an agency said a report made three days ago by Mr Li Ximing, the Beijing party chief, claimed the student movement was not started spontaneously.

He said it was controlled by prominent dissidents such as Professor Fang Lizhi and Mr Ren Wangding, who had served jail terms for the Beijing Spring movement 10 years ago. Mr Li urged the party to crush this "small band of troublemakers".

**Rumors of Political Change False**  
HK2505064989 Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese  
25 May 89 p 1

[“Special Dispatch” from Beijing by MING PAO reporter: “Intensified Internal Struggle at the Top Level Made Political Bureau Members Take Precautions by Moving Their Families into Zhongnanhai”]

[Text] Despite numerous rumors saying that Li Peng has been removed from all his official posts and Zhao Ziyang has regained control in the Chinese leadership over the

past 2 days, a well-informed person close to the CPC power center in Beijing disclosed today that up to now, all the unconfirmed reports on the possible changes of the official positions of Li Peng and Zhao Ziyang are false. From the day Li Peng made his speech to yesterday, the central authorities have not held any meetings. The two opposing factions within the Chinese leadership had just stubbornly held fast to their original stands respectively and organized forces to demonstrate their respective real strengths. Because a large number of military troops have already encircled Beijing City and the Beijing Military Region has not yet given its support to Li Peng, most of the CPC Political Bureau members have moved their families into Zhongnanhai and are preparing for the worst thing to happen.

Although yesterday, some sources reported that at a meeting, Deng Xiaoping denounced Zhao Ziyang as a “CPC Traitor,” the well-informed person close to the CPC power center in Beijing disclosed that Deng Xiaoping has not made an appearance and has not made any comment on the current situation in China in the last few days.

**Zhao Remains General Secretary**  
OW2505071789 Beijing XINHUA in English  
0657 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Beijing, May 25 (XINHUA)—Zhao Ziyang is still the general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) Central Committee, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

There is no change in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government, the National People's Congress or the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Li Jinhua said this in response to a reporter at a news briefing here this afternoon.

**Wan Li Returns; Students Want NPC Meeting**  
HK2505014789 Hong Kong HONGKONG STANDARD  
in English 25 May 89 p 1

[Text] Mr Wan Li, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC), is flying back to a political crisis which will see a top-level reshuffle.

He is expected to return to Beijing early today as more members of the NPC Standing Committee are joining a call to convene a NPC special session to discuss the crisis triggered by the month-long student unrest.

The reform-minded leader, an ally to the beleaguered Communist Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, cut short his official overseas visit to help settle reshuffle problems.

Beijing students, who are waiting for the return of Mr Wan, plan to ask him to convene a special session of the NPC to discuss the current unrest in China.

A delegation of seven students were preparing to meet him at the Beijing airport terminal used by the top leaders and visiting dignitaries.

"We will ask Mr Wan to save the nation, and our students," their representative, Mr Xue Xiangqian said. "Now 80 to 90 percent of the nation recognises Li Peng as an enemy."

Hundreds of thousands of student demonstrators have been demanding the resignation of Mr Li, who announced martial law in Beijing six days ago.

Mr Xue, a student from Beijing Agricultural Engineering University, said the students would also "check whether Mr Wan is really sick." Ill health was given as the official reason for the interruption of Mr Wan's visit to Washington on Tuesday, after he met with U.S. President George Bush who urged restraint in dealing with the crisis.

The students admitted that they were not certain they would be able to pass their message to Mr Wan, whose time of arrival here was not known.

But Mr Xue said the students were discussing the possibility of leaving their appeal with Chinese officials.

Two of the seven students were at the airport terminal yesterday evening, surrounded by a supportive crowd, while the five others were "resting" at a nearby police station, Chinese sources said. Another group of students set off on foot from central Tiananmen Square carrying banners and wearing armbands and said they would hitch a lift to the airport, 30 kilometres from the plaza.

They said they were heading to the airport "to welcome Wan Li".

Mr Wan, 73, also an ally of the late party general secretary Hu Yaobang, has spoken in support of "patriotic" students.

Analysts believe he could play an important role in the resolution of the the current crisis and his name has even surfaced as a possible interim leader.

**Wan Li in Shanghai**  
OW2405212289 Shanghai City Service  
in Mandarin 2104 GMT 24 May 89

[By Shanghai Television Station reporter Lu Duanzheng]

[Text] Wan Li, chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, arrived in Shanghai on the morning of 25 May after paying an official goodwill visit to Canada and the United States.

He was greeted at the airport by Jiang Zemin, secretary of the municipal party committee, Ye Gongqi, chairman of the municipal people's congress standing committee, and Zhu Rongji, mayor of Shanghai.

Due to health reasons, Chairman Wan Li concluded the visit to the United States ahead of schedule and left Washington for home at 0700 24 May Beijing time. He will undergo treatment [jin xing zhi liao] in Shanghai.

**Wan Li To Undergo Treatment**  
OW2505072689 Beijing XINHUA in English  
0625 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Shanghai, May 25 (XINHUA)—Wan Li, chairman of China's National People's Congress Standing Committee, is staying in Shanghai for medical treatment after arriving here from the United States around 3:00 this morning.

It is learned that Wan was found in need of medical treatment after being examined by doctors here.

Wan has cut short his visit to the United States, which was originally scheduled to last until June 1.

**Wan Li Examined by Doctors**  
OW2505103989 Beijing Domestic Service  
in Mandarin 0700 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] According to XINHUA, Wan Li, chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, has returned home after visiting Canada and the United States. He arrived in Shanghai at 0300 [1800 GMT] this morning.

Jiang Zemin, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee; and Ye Gongqi, chairman of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee; and Zhu Rongji, mayor of Shanghai, were on hand at the airport to greet him.

Owing to indisposition and after being examined by doctors, Chairman Wan Li will stay in Shanghai for treatment.

**57 NPC Members Urge Meeting**  
HK2505070789 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese  
25 May 89 p 1

[Report from Beijing on 24 May by WEN WEI PO reporters Group: "57 NPC (National People's Congress) Standing Committee Members Write Letter Urging To Hold an Emergency Meeting of the Committee To Dismiss Li Peng"]

[Text] Up to this day, 57 NPC [National People's Congress] Standing Committee members have written a joint letter demanding the NPC convene an emergency meeting, which was sent to the general office of the Standing Committee of the NPC at 1300 this afternoon.

It has been reported that the priorities of the emergency meeting include removing Li Peng from office and handling the current problems that should be urgently resolved. However, those who signed their names on the

letter estimated that the emergency meeting could not necessarily materialize, because the convening of such a meeting should get the approval of the Central Political Bureau. The Standing Committee members held: This way of doing things, not proclaimed in writing, cannot be discarded overnight but they are still doing everything in their power for the purpose.

The Standing Committee members who had signed the letter included Hu Jiwei, Hu Keshi, Feng Zhijun, Zhou Gucheng, Qin Chuan, Dong Fureng, Lin Lanying, Li Yining, Jiang Ping, Lin Liyun, Wang Runsheng, Ye Duzheng, Pucog Wangje, Zhu Dexi, Liu Danian, Hu Dehua, Wu Zhonghua, Li Xuezhi, Yang Ligong, Huang Shunxing, Dong Jianhua, Yang Haibo, Tao Dayong, Gao Dengbang, Hu Daiguang, Yang Jike, Peng Qingyuan, Chu Zhuang, Wu Dakun, Xie Tieli, Ren Xinmin, Hao Yichun, Xu Caidong, Chen Shunli, Li Qi, Ma Hong, Song Rufen, Cai Zimin, Liu Dongsheng, Li Gui, Wang Houde, Liu Yandong, Ma Tengai, Ma Man Kei, Gu Ming, Liu Wei, Zhao Xiu, Song Zexing, Wang Meng, He Juetian, Mamutov Kurban, Wang Yongxing, Qinggeltai, Henry Ying Tung Fok, Li Chonghuai, Wang Jinling, and Zhang Shiming.

According to their letter, it would be best to convene the emergency meeting on around 24 to 26 May. However, they also indicated that the date could be arranged flexibly.

At the time when the letter was handed to the general office of the Standing Committee of the NPC, Hu Jiwei also wrote an open letter to Xi Zhongxun and Peng Chong, raising the above-mentioned demand.

According to another report, a well-informed source said: In the "Organic Law on the National People's Congress" there is no provision saying that a Standing Committee meeting can be convened if requested by more than a half of the total number of Standing Committee members and that a motion can be tabled if jointly requested by 10 Standing Committee members or more. So far 57 Standing Committee members have demanded that an urgent meeting be convened. This figure is already more than one-third of the total number of Standing Committee members (156 people).

**Wan Li To Stay in Shanghai**  
OW2505045589 Tokyo NHK General Television  
Network in Japanese 0310 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] Our Beijing Bureau reports that a complete change is noted in the power struggle among China's top leadership which was caused by the student movement, and that on the sixth day since martial law was proclaimed, the hard-liners are making a comeback. Wan Li, chairman of the National People's Congress [NPC] who is regarded as a moderate and who returned to Shanghai from the United States early this morning, will stay in Shanghai because of his illness.

In its top news item today, Radio Beijing has repeatedly broadcast the contents of a message issued by the General Staff Department of the People's Liberation Army [PLA] and other units addressed to the troops enforcing martial law, in which the students and citizens' movement to demand democratization is denounced as a disturbance.

It has been disclosed that, entrusted by Premier Li Peng, Secretary General Luo Gan of the State Council visited the Beijing Telegraph Bureau and other places to give encouragement to troops who are stationed there as guards.

The contents of the Radio Beijing report indicate that the hard-liners have regained their power on the sixth day since martial law was proclaimed and that there is no change in the position of Premier Li Peng.

Meanwhile, Wan Li, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, who had cut short his visit to the United States, returned to Shanghai early this morning. However, it has been decided that he will stay in Shanghai for the time being for the purpose of treatment for his illness. Among the students, expectations have been growing that the situation will turn in favor of the moderates when Chairman Wan Li returns home. In this connection, it is observed that Chairman Wan Li's decision to stay in Shanghai will deal a serious blow to the moderates.

Beijing correspondent Nagasaki reports on students' reaction to the hard-liners' comeback. [Video shows scenes at Tiananmen Square]

[Nagasaki, heard by telephone] Over 20,000 students continue their sit-in at Tiananmen Square today. It will soon be a week since martial law was proclaimed in Beijing and the students cannot conceal the fatigue on their faces. Light music continued to be heard and students demanding Premier Li Peng's downfall were seen on the square yesterday morning. However, there was a complete change this morning, with a quiet atmosphere prevailing on the square.

The information circulating on the square yesterday was that Premier Li Peng, whose resignation the students demand, was gradually losing his authority. However, according to an analysis of the situation circulating on the square this morning, Premier Li Peng is trying to make a comeback. The atmosphere on the square seems to indicate a delicate reflection of the development of the power struggle at the central government.

When the PLA General Staff Department's statement to commanders and fighters was broadcast over the loudspeakers on the square amidst such an atmosphere this morning, the students shouted their strong dissatisfaction in unison. Despite their intensifying fatigue, the students are determined to carry on a prolonged struggle to demand Premier Li Peng's downfall.

**State Council Issues 'Urgent' Circular**  
*OW2505152589 Beijing XINHUA in English*  
*1452 GMT 25 May 89*

[Text] Beijing, May 25 (XINHUA)—The State Council issued an urgent circular today to stop students coming to Beijing.

The circular says students from other parts of the country have forced their way on to trains and come to Beijing since May 16. Their influx in large numbers hinders efforts to end turmoil and stabilize the situation. It also disrupts the normal operation of railways and harms the national economy.

The circular requires local government officials, police and railway bureaus to adopt forceful measures to dissuade and stop students from coming to Beijing. It says college and school officials also should dissuade students from coming to Beijing.

Railway workers should check tickets carefully and allow no one to get on trains without a ticket. Police should help to maintain order on the railways.

The circular says prompt measures should be adopted to stop college students from travelling by train without tickets. Key offenders will be punished according to law and their offences reported in the Chinese news media.

The circular urges all police officers and railway workers taking part in the effort to handle matters strictly according to the law.

The circular also requires local government, public security departments and railway administrative bureaus to implement the orders quickly and carefully.

**Further Reportage on PLA Troop Movements**

**Still Unable To Enter Beijing**  
*OW2505151389 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin*  
*0700 GMT 25 May 89*

[Text] According to a XINMIN WAN BAO report, the PLA [People's Liberation Army] units on duty were still unable to enter Beijing City this morning. Since yesterday, most of the PLA officers and men have been ordered to move further out from Beijing's suburban areas. A small number of them have withdrawn to be stationed in military camps or where some large houses are located. The road blocks and picket lines set up by the college students 2 kilometers apart still remain.

Reporter (Qie Shike) visited Fengtai, Liuliqiao, and Lugouqiao, but did not see any soldiers. Only by following the instructions of a stranger did he find a certain armored unit in the vicinity of Changqingdian. The unit had left Baoding 6 days ago. At first, the soldiers and students were hostile to each other, but after a long dialogue, friendly relations have been established.

Instances of mutual assistance have become a daily occurrence. The campaign to love Beijing, Beijing residents, and the young students promoted by the unit has won the hearts of both the soldiers and residents.

**Preparing To March on Tiananmen**  
*HK2505044689 Hong Kong Commercial Radio*  
*in English 0430 GMT 25 May 89*

[Text] Troops in Beijing are preparing to move on Tiananmen Square following a message broadcast on official radio by the military to obey the orders of Premier Li Peng. At the same time, students there have called an emergency meeting to discuss the next course of action. Bob Nixon sent this report from the Chinese capital:

[Begin recording] Three separate Army divisions are reported to be massing on the outside of Beijing ready to march into the city center. If it's true, that would confirm reports that senior leader Deng Xiaoping and Premier Li Peng have won the power struggle with Communist Party boss Zhao Ziyang. Zhao is reported to have opposed martial law, imposed by Li last Saturday. The Chinese media says Zhao is on holiday, but it was widely believed he was locked in debate with Deng and Li, leaders who want to crush the students and their supporters who have successfully defied martial law for 6 days. Military commanders have instructed soldiers to study and follow the speech Li made last week sending in the army.

Up to now the Army has been unsuccessful in retaking Tiananmen, and have for now given up the attempt. But students camped in the square for the past 13 days calling for democracy are clearly taking this latest threat seriously. Radio reports make glowing references to Deng and Li, indicating they are back in command after days of no leadership at all from government. Radio Beijing quotes Army commanders as saying a small number of people want to create turmoil and destroy the socialist system.

In Tiananmen Square, students have asked people to come out in support of them once more this afternoon. They also appealed to the People's Liberation Army to stand on the side of the people, but the emergency debate would indicate withdrawing now might save bloodshed. [end recording]

**Troops Number Over 100,000**  
*HK2505035189 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO*  
*in Chinese 25 May 89 p 1*

[“Special Article” by WEN WEI PO reporter: “Initial Exploration of the Background of Surrounding the City With Troops”]

[Text] Beijing, 24 May—According to informed sources, up to this morning, the troops stationed around the city of Beijing numbered more than 100,000. This far

exceeded the need for "suppressing students," and indicated that the purpose of transferring so many troops to Beijing was not related to the student unrest.

Some time earlier, the military indicated that the troops will not use violence against students and that they came to Beijing "not for the purpose of dealing with the students."

According to the sources, the troops which have arrived in the periphery of Beijing include troops from the 63rd Army Corps, the 64th Army Corps, the 65th Army Corps, the 38th Army Corps, the 27th Army Corps, the 28th Army Corps, and the 24th Army Corps of the Beijing Military Region; the 20th Army Corps of the Lanzhou Military Region; the 12th Army Corps of the Nanjing Military Region; the 54th Army Corps of the Jinan Military Region; the 39th Army Corps of the Shenyang Military Region; and the 15th Army Corps of the Air Force. A number of divisions were transferred from each of the above-mentioned military units. The troops now formed two rings of encirclement around Beijing. According to the sources, three divisions from the Guangzhou Military Region are now on their way to Beijing.

According to the sources, the troops now surrounding Beijing include airborne force, armored force, artillery, land-to-air missile force, antichemical warfare force, and ground force. A few days ago, some troops moved close to the urban areas, and this caused a panic among local residents. Hundred of thousands of people risked their lives to block the troops. Afterward, the troops retreated to areas farther away from the city to avoid confrontation with the masses.

According to some observers, such deployment of the troops does not mean that a civil war will break out, but it is certain that the troops play a certain deterrent role. For example, in case there are major personnel changes in the central leadership or there are major actions inside, the massive forces will become a psychological deterrent for preventing the occurrence of events that the paramount power holder does not want to see.

#### Troop Airlifts Reported

HK2505133989 Hong Kong Asia Television Limited  
in English 2000 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Tonight, a huge pro-democracy demonstration is continuing in Beijing as hardline leaders appear to have won a power struggle. The Army is reported to have declared its support for Premier Li Peng, and the official media have labeled the student demonstrators as counterrevolutionaries. For an update on the situation, we'll cross over live to Stuart Pallister in Beijing. Stuart:

[Begin recording] [Pallister] The situation here is calm at present, Nick. Life in the city has returned to normal, but all that could change dramatically soon.

Sources have said it will be reformist party leader Zhao Ziyang, and not conservative Premier Li Peng, who will be stepping down. However, the sources say an announcement on Mr Zhao's resignation will not be made until the Army has gained control of the situation.

There are unconfirmed reports as well that troops are already being airlifted up here from Guangdong, Sichuan, and Wuhan Provinces. Ten aircraft, including 737's, have been reportedly used. The students are now preparing for the worst. They believe troops will try to enter Beijing to clear the protesters from Tiananmen Square, the symbolic heart of China, within the next few days. The troops have so far been unable or unwilling to come into Beijing. But, as the protesters are determined to continue their demonstrations, it's clear the troops would have to be prepared to use force to enter the city. So far, that has not happened. But Army leaders today stated in the PEOPLE'S DAILY that all soldiers should obey Premier Li's order to impose martial law. The students say that their protest movement will remain nonviolent even if the Army uses force. They're calling on workers and residents to man roadblocks around the city again. Many of the roadblocks have disappeared during the cooling-off period over the past couple of days.

Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators again took to the streets this afternoon. They welcomed the arrival of National People's Congress Chairman Wan Li, who's been sympathetic to the students, while calling on Premier Li to step down. However, as I say, tonight it appears that Mr Li and his faction, backed presumably by senior leader Deng Xiaoping, are still holding on to the reins within the government.

This evening, television news bulletins began with lengthy items about Mr Li's meeting with three foreign ambassadors. Nick?

[Nick] You said they're still holding on to the reins. Would you say this is a very tentative hold?

[Pallister] I'd say that at the moment, it looks as though they do have a fair amount of support within the higher echelon of the Army. It does seem that they could be making one last stand against the protesters. And if that happens, they may become more reckless in trying to crush the protest.

[Nick] Yes. It's been reported that Deng Xiaoping has struck a deal with the PLA [People's Liberation Army] for their support in putting down the unrest in return for no reprisals. Have you heard anything along these lines?

[Pallister] I haven't heard anything along that sort of line, but I was told by a source today that the Chinese authorities have been very much taken aback by the Army's failure to carry out the wishes of Mr Deng, who after all is the chairman of the Military Commission. [end recording]

**Colonels Talk About Deployment**  
HK2505055389 Hong Kong *WEN WEI PO*  
in Chinese 25 May 89 p 2

[“Special Article” by an unnamed Central Television Station reporter: “Colonels of an Army Unit Enforcing Martial Law Talk About Troop Deployment”]

[Text] On the night of 21 May, when it was rumored in the streets of Beijing that the troops would suppress the students, several hundred thousand residents poured into the streets and the square. The rumor had something to do with the martial law declared on 20 May. In the early hours of 22 May, a reporter of the Central Television Station interviewed the officers and soldiers of an army unit who had come to Beijing to enforce martial law.

Reporter: Marshal Nie's and Marshal Xu's talks have clarified some facts about the Tiananmen Square. Will you please air your view on this?

Colonel A of an army unit: We have not heard any news about their talks.

Reporter: Can you tell me where your troops are now and why you do not enter Tiananmen Square?

Colonel A: Our troops are at Shijingshan and we do not enter Tiananmen Square. Obstructed by the masses, we cannot advance. The higher authorities have ordered us to stay where we are and await orders.

Reporter: If there is a clash between the troops and the students, will you prevent clashes with the students as Marshal Xu and Marshal Nie have said?

Colonel A: Yes, we are precisely doing so. After we came here, we saw that the students are fairly sensible and that they want to prevent clashes as we do. We have come here to maintain social order at the request of the Central Military Commission. But the masses of the people do not understand us. Yesterday morning, in particular, many of them uttered some unfriendly remarks. We urged the troops not to pay attention to this and we tried as hard as possible to prevent clashes. On this count, the college students also helped us do a lot of work. So far, our troops have not had any clashes with the college students and the masses of the people.

Staying on the trucks for a day yesterday, our soldiers were exposed to the sun and were without food. But they strictly observed discipline. Today (the higher authorities) ordered us to withdraw. However, due to various reasons, we have not withdrawn. Having brought neither blankets nor waterproof cloth, our soldiers are lying down on the ground. I have just had a look around and feel very sorry for them. I told our cadres that the weather will turn cold and wet after 0400 and that it is necessary to wake them up and ask them to sit for a while before returning to the car.

Colonel B: After we came here, the Shoudu Iron and Steel Works has resolved the problem of food and drinking water for us. They have sent us bread, steamed bread, congee, and salted vegetables.

Reporter: Is it still possible for the troops to enter the city now?

Colonel A: I have just had a look over there. There are still many obstructing us. Under such circumstances, we are put into a difficult position. The higher authorities have ordered us to draw back but we find it impossible to do so.

Reporter: When you received the order, what were you informed of the situation in Beijing?

Colonel A: At that time, we were told that we were to go to Beijing to be on patrol duty and to maintain public order in the capital.

Reporter: During the pre-war mobilization, what did you tell your commanders and fighters?

Colonel A: We explained it very clearly. We said that, in keeping with the requirement of the higher authorities, when we go to Beijing on patrol duty, we should love the college students. We conducted education among the troops. I think our troops have given a good account of themselves. It does not matter if we cannot have food, water, or sleep, but we cannot stand the indignities. None of our fighters have violated the discipline.

**Officer Dies in Accident**  
OW2505112789 Beijing International Service  
in Mandarin 0900 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Most of the PLA [People's Liberation Army] units ordered to enforce martial law in some Beijing districts have withdrawn to temporary camps, thus basically ending the confrontation between the troops and Beijing residents.

By 1400 on 23 May, no military trucks could be seen in Fengtai District southwest of Beijing. Earlier, all troops stationed to the west of Beijing had already retreated 1 - 2 kilometers to their temporary camps. During the withdrawal, a junior officer died after falling to the ground from an open truck that suddenly accelerated.

**Student Reaction To Troop Movement**

**Fear Army Preparing for Action**  
HK2505113789 Hong Kong Commercial Radio  
in English 1030 GMT 25 May 89

[Excerpts] Students in Beijing fear the Army is about to retake Tiananmen Square, which they have held for the past 13 days, and have called for the city's entire population to help stop the troops. They also believe

Premier Li Peng and strongman Deng Xiaoping have regained control of the Communist Party. Bob Nixon sent us this latest report from the Chinese capital.

[Begin recording] The students believe three Army divisions from Mongolia are massing on the outskirts of Beijing ready to retake Tiananmen Square. They called on people to resurrect the barricades that so successfully kept troops out when martial law was declared 6 days ago. But most barricades are now down and roads are open to Tiananmen.

About 100,000 people demonstrated in the city center again today in support of the students. In Tiananmen, government and student loudspeakers compete for listeners on the square, with most people listening to the students. Their portable radio station plays such favorites as a Hong Kong song called "For Freedom." Students vow they will continue to demonstrate until Premier Li Peng, who signed the martial law order, and senior leader Deng Xiaoping resign. [passage omitted]

**Prepare To Defend Square**  
HK2505082789 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO  
in Chinese 25 May 89 p 2

[“Special Dispatch” from Beijing: “Beijing Students Set Up Headquarters to Defend Tiananmen”]

[Text] Beijing, 24 May (TA KUNG PAO)—In order to carry out this patriotic democratic movement in a more organized manner and in good order, a “Headquarters for the Defense of Tiananmen Square” was set up today. It is composed mainly of student representatives so that unified action can be taken in the future. On the other hand, the joint meeting organized by representatives from student, cultural, educational, and press circles, the workers, and the peasants, is serving as a supporting organ and “brain trust” for the headquarters.

The “Headquarters for the Defense of Tiananmen Square” held an oath-taking rally this morning. Chai Ling, chief commander of the headquarters and Wang Dan, convener of the joint meeting, officiated at the oath-taking ceremony. They also issued a statement entitled “A Decisive Battle between Light and Darkness.”

The statement said that several days have passed since the proclamation of martial law but not a single soldier has entered the city. This does not show that Li Peng and his followers are lenient but that they are weak and the people are strong. We do not want to say that we will never fail but we have no way of retreat. If Li Peng and a handful of followers succeed in insisting on retrogression and opposing the people they will certainly bide their time to take revenge.

The statement calls for all Chinese, including all workers, peasants, citizens, soldiers, cadres, students, intellectuals, and patriotic Overseas Chinese, who are good-hearted and have a sense of justice, to unite and save the nation, whose existence is in peril.

Under the joint meeting there are five departments: The command, propaganda and liaison, logistics and supply, counseling, and the pickets departments. Chai Ling is the chief commander, and Liu Suli, Lao Mu (a poet), Wang Gang, Liu Gang, and Zhang Lun respectively head the liaison, propaganda, logistics and supply, counseling, and pickets departments. The six members of the headquarters’ Standing Committee are Wang Dan, Chai Ling, Zhang Boli, Li Lu, Feng Congde, and Guo Haifeng.

A responsible person from the headquarters said there are no contradictions between the newly established headquarters and the Beijing College Students Federation. The members of the headquarters are basically those who were leading the student movements in the earlier stage. The “Beijing College Students Federation” has entrusted the headquarters with taking full responsibility in leading defense work in the square while other organizations withdraw to the second line. The joint meeting, composed of representatives from various circles, will play the role of a “brain trust” and offer their opinions.

He said there are more than 40 representatives in the joint meeting.

Another responsible person from the headquarters also said that the Beijing municipal government and CPC committee should be held responsible for certain disorder phenomena which have recently appeared in Beijing. In transportation, the disorder appeared because the relevant departments did not allow the dispatching of buses, ordering all units not to dispatch their vehicles. Gasoline supply was at one time suspended and the services of the traffic police were once withdrawn. In public security, security cadres and police were not allowed to go to their posts. In supply, because large numbers of troops were transferred to Beijing and many roads were blocked by military vehicles, the normal supply channels were thus impeded. When the residents were trying to stop the military vehicles the government was plotting a bloodless conflict between residents and soldiers. The dispatching of armed police by the municipal party committee and government led to conflicts.

**Vow To Defend With Lives**  
HK2505032189 Hong Kong HONGKONG STANDARD  
in English 25 May 89 p 1

[By Fan Cheuk-wan in Beijing]

[Text] More than 100,000 Chinese university students yesterday vowed to protect Tiananmen Square with their lives to continue their month-long pro-democracy movement.

The pledge came as they inaugurated a new umbrella organisation, Command for Protection of Tiananmen, which also includes intellectuals and workers.

In a ceremony at the square, the students raised their right hands and, led by Miss Chai Lin, the organisation's newly selected general commander, made the pledge: "I hereby vow that I will risk my life and invest my wholehearted loyalty to protect Tiananmen Square, to protect our capital Beijing, and to protect the People's Republic."

As they did so, the student broadcasting system played The Internationale and Beethoven's No 6 Hero Symphony.

In her inauguration speech, Miss Chai—former secretary to sacked student leader Wuer Kaixi—said: "Our movement will not be used by anyone as a means for power struggle."

Mr Wang Dan, another student leader, delivered a speech titled "The Last Battle Between the Brightness and the Darkness."

He declared: "Our movement has entered into the most critical moment.

"If Li Peng and a handful of people insist on retrogression ... we will lose our achievements, gained in the 10 years' reform ... if we leave the square now, we will be guilty for thousands of years.

"Our student movement is fighting for democracy, human rights and social progress.

"What we are doing is something greater than any other revolutions in our history.

"Even the May Fourth Movement in 1919 and the April Fifth Movement in 1976 do not compare.

"Succeed or not, history will give the people most glorious victory."

The students said they would not leave the square until the authorities removed troops from the city, lifted martial law and restored social order.

Since martial law was imposed last Saturday in parts of Beijing, student leaders had been severely split on whether they should leave the square and whether the movement could last.

People claiming to represent different factions within the party and the government kept talking to the students, giving conflicting advice about whether to stay on or go.

Mr Wuer, the former chairman of the Beijing Students' Autonomous Association, was sacked three nights ago because he asked the students to leave the square.

His request followed a talk with a representative of the China Welfare Fund for the Handicapped, headed by Deng Xiaoping's eldest son, Deng Pufang.

The next day, Mr Wang Dan was also taken to a hotel by a group of people from a computer company which was headed by a relative of Mr Wan Li, chairman of the National People's Congress.

Meanwhile, government and student authorities yesterday gave conflicting versions of whether any hunger strikers had died.

The students said two fasters were dead, but the China Central Television reported denials from the hospital authorities.

Mr Chen Wei, press spokesman of the Command for Protection of Tiananmen, said two had died, but gave no further details.

#### Hold Talks With PLA Unit

OW2405215489 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service  
in Chinese 1559 GMT 24 May 89

[“Local Broadcast News Service”]

[Text] Beijing, 24 May (XINHUA)—According to information provided by the relevant departments, on the afternoon of 21 May, a man who called himself a representative of the students in Tiananmen Square visited a Liberation Army unit enforcing martial law on the order of the State Council, and requested a meeting with the unit's responsible comrades. Liu Zhijun, director of the political department of a regiment, and others had a talk with him. Two projectionists [Fang Ying Yuan 2397 2503 0765] of a club in a hospital volunteered to take part in the talks.

The student representative said: I have received notes from many students in Tiananmen Square, asking me to find out the views of the Liberation Army, residents, and other circles regarding the students. Liu Zhijun replied: In the past day or so since we came to Beijing, we have seen a chaotic situation. Although the students are well organized and have volunteered to help us maintain order, some people are trying to make trouble. If the situation is not improved promptly, serious chaos will arise in the work order and public order.

The student representative said: The students are patriotic, and they are doing things for the sake of the country.

Liu Zhijun said: The students' patriotic enthusiasm is good, and so are their slogans to eliminate corruption and official profiteering. This is the stand of the central authorities and the Army as well. However, good motivation and enthusiasm alone are inadequate. What is more important is the integration of motivation with results. If the students are really patriotic, they should

proceed from the overall interests of the country and the people in ending demonstrations and strikes and leaving Tiananmen Square as soon as possible to calm down the situation. I believe, Liu Zhijun added, the major contradiction at the present lies in effecting an early restoration of public order. The students should withdraw from the square immediately and leave other problems for discussion at a later time. Without normal public order, the economic as well as political structural reforms will be impeded.

The student representative said: We believe we have considerable support and concern of the citizens and various circles. If we leave Tiananmen Square immediately, we may let the residents down. Yan Shaohua replied: The residents' attitude is not necessarily understood by the students—as a matter of fact, not all residents support the students. Take me, for example. At the beginning, I was 50 percent in favor of you, but now I am against you continuing what you have been doing. I suggest that you thoroughly analyze the situation of people on the street. In my view, there are "two more's" and "two less's." There are more people under 30 years old than over 30, indicating that people capable of recognizing [rights and wrongs] are often sober-minded, and that young people who easily act on impulse do not quite understand the possible consequences of their action. Furthermore, there are fewer people who are really workers because most of them continue to go to work. If the students only see the superficial phenomenon of numerous people on the street while failing to realize the essence that the majority of people are opposed to turmoil, they will draw an erroneous assessment of the situation and thus reach an erroneous conclusion.

In response to the student representative's question about the Army's attitude, Liu Zhijun said: The People's Liberation Army is led by the CPC, and we will comply with the party's command. The party Central Committee and the government have given an explicit instruction to the troops not to open fire and to do the utmost to prevent bloodshed. It has also been repeatedly emphasized that the troops are used only for maintaining order and will not be used to suppress students. We have exercised restraint in earnestly implementing the central authorities' policy decision, and this is by no means an indication of passive attitude toward martial law. Liu Zhijun added: I think the earlier the students leave the Square, the better it is for them. There is one thing that I can assure you and that is that the troops will not fire at the students. However, we will by no means be soft on those evil elements who are bent on opposing the government with sabotage activities.

#### Demonstrations Continue Despite Martial Law

**Parade Again on 25 May**  
OW2505135989 Beijing XINHUA in English  
1333 GMT 25 May 89

[“Another Big Demonstration in Beijing Again”—XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, May 25 (XINHUA)—Large numbers of people again paraded in Tiananmen Square and nearby Changan Avenue in the Chinese capital this afternoon.

Taking part were college lecturers and students, and people from cultural and scientific bodies and industry.

#### Students, Citizens Stage Protest

**HK2505150889 Hong Kong ZHONGGUO TONGXUN SHE in Chinese 1416 GMT 25 May 89**

[Report by Zhao Yuan Guang (6392 6678 0342): “Beijing Students and Citizens Again Staged Large-Scale Demonstration and Marching”—ZHONGGUO TONGXUN SHE headline]

[Text] Hong Kong, 25 May (ZHONGGUO TONGXUN SHE)—University students and people from various sectors in Beijing this afternoon held again a large-scale demonstration and marching, strongly demanding the Standing Committee of the People's National Congress to immediately convene an emergency meeting to stabilize the political situation, to dismiss Li Peng and cancel the martial law.

The marching force comprised of various sectors began to march, in good order, toward Tiananmen Square at 1300 this afternoon. Flags and banners of various marching columns sparkled under the scorching sun. The marching columns shouted slogans such as “Demand the National People's Congress to immediately convene an emergency meeting,” “We want democracy, legal institutions, and we do not want military rule,” “Dismiss Li Peng, cancel the martial law.”

Participating in the marching columns, apart from those from various institutes of higher learning, were also people marching under the banners of the “State Council's Institute of Hong Kong and Macao Studies,” “Ministry of Astronautics Industry,” “China Central Television Station” and the “Central People's Broadcasting Station.”

According to a revelation made to reporters by one student leader at the command of the sit-in petition set up in the square, at present students have forged a closer tie with persons from various sectors.

#### New Group Supports Students

**HK2505043389 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 25 May 89 p 1**

[Report by WEN WEI PO reporters group: “Patriotic Joint Conference for Defending the Constitution Set Up at Tiananmen Square”]

[Text] To strengthen support of the students, an organization named “Patriotic Joint Social Conference for Defending the Constitution” was set up at Tiananmen Square at twilight yesterday. The organization mainly consists of students. Other members are representatives

from workers and the education, the press and intellectual circles. The organization aims at continuing to support the student movement based on the spirit of "mutual sacrifice for loving the country, and social consultation."

It was decided that Beijing Teachers' University undergraduate Chai Ling will be the commander-in-chief of the joint conference, and Li Lu the vice commander-in-chief. The poet Lao Mu will be the head of the organization's Propaganda Department; Liu Suli, teacher of the Politics and Law University, will be the head of the Liaison Department; Wang Gang will be the head of the Supply Department; and Liu Gang will be the head of the Department of Staff.

Also, Wang Dan, Chai Ling, Zhang Boli, Li Lu, Feng Congde and Guo Haifeng will be the Standing Committee members. There are also more than 40 committee members.

At a news conference, Wang Dan said that a meeting will be held this afternoon to discuss the conditions under which the students will stop the sit-in.

**Student Leader Comments on Li**  
HK2505054089 *Hong Kong MING PAO*  
in Chinese 25 May 89 p 1

[“Special Dispatch” from Beijing by MING PAO reporter: “Student Leader Accuses Li Peng Group of Disrupting Social Order, Traffic, and Material Supplies”]

[Text] Since the announcement of martial law in Beijing, some strange things have happened in traffic, social order, material supplies, and other aspects. Yesterday, student leader Wang Dan pointed out that all these have been secretly done by the Beijing municipal CPC committee and government, and they indicate the attempt of Li Peng and his like to create turmoil.

Wang Dan disclosed that a few days ago, Beijing's traffic was completely at a standstill. This had much to do with what the Beijing municipal CPC committee and government had secretly done, for example, stopping drivers driving public buses, stopping all production units using their automobiles, cutting the supply of gasoline, withdrawing traffic policemen, and so on. Regarding the maintenance of social order, the Beijing municipal CPC committee gave an order forbidding policemen from going to their posts. Regarding material supplies, the municipal government suspended the transportation of grain and edible oil, causing a shortage of grain, oil, and other daily necessities in Beijing. The municipal Public Security Bureau also hired a number of professional hooligans to incite conflict everywhere. For example, these hooligans threw bricks at soldiers in the Fengtai District, smeared Mao Zedong's portrait at Tiananmen Gate, and so on.

**Mail, Traffic 'Back to Normal' in Beijing**  
HK2505004089 *Beijing CHINA DAILY* in English  
25 May 89 p 1

[By staff reporter]

[Text] Postal workers in Beijing are speeding up the delivery of mail now that traffic in the city appears to be getting back to normal.

Traffic jams caused by the massive demonstrations over the past week or so have delayed the delivery of mail in some parts of the capital, an official from the Beijing Posts Bureau said.

Several thousand bags of mail have been piled up in the city's post offices, he said, adding that postal workers had had to deliver letters and newspapers on foot or by bicycle in some cases.

But it had been impossible to deliver mail in the area around Tiananmen Square and along Changan Avenue in the past few days, he said.

This was why some residents had received their letters and newspapers later than usual or not at all, he explained.

He said delayed publishing times had also been a factor in the slow delivery of newspapers.

And the cancellation of some trains had affected the transport of mail into and out of the city to some extent too.

The post office near Beijing Railway Station was forced to close for several hours on Saturday evening because thousands of students and local residents rushed to the station to prevent soldiers from entering the city centre, he said.

The office usually operates around the clock.

Officials from the China Publications Import and Export Corporation and the Beijing International Post Office said the delay in delivery of foreign newspapers and books had also been caused by traffic problems.

They said the transport and delivery of mail returned to normal yesterday.

**Situation on Sixth Day of Martial Law Described**  
OW2505113289 *Beijing Domestic Service* in Mandarin  
2130 GMT 24 May 89

[By station reporter—from the “News and Press Review” program]

[Text] Today is the 6th day since martial law was declared in Beijing. At 0500 in early morning, buses and trolleybuses for the morning shift could be seen running

according to regular schedule in the East and West Chang'an Avenues and on other major roads. This signifies the restoration of transportation, which was once at a standstill. Comrades of the public transportation department told this reporter that by 1600 yesterday, all the 172 trolleybus and bus lines in the whole municipality had begun to operate, and the subway was also in full operation.

The unpleasant thing was that there were still a few people who stood in the streets to willfully stop cars for a ride. Sometime after 2200 yesterday, there were even people in the Xuanwumen area stopping cars and forcing the drivers to shout slogans against their will before they were let go.

According to the reporter's observation, since the declaration of martial law, social order and the citizens' lives have been on the whole stable. However, Beijingers have shown unprecedented concern over the changes in the current political situation. There were always people gathering in the streets and lanes. What was different from several days ago was that there were fewer people making speeches. Most people gathering there were not acquaintances and they were passing unconfirmed reports to each other.

A number of college students continued their sit-in petitioning activities in Tiananmen Square and in front of the Xinhuaamen, with continued sympathy from the citizens. Some 100 metric tons of food, medicine, and other supplies are sent there from various places daily. Thus, it is difficult to maintain sanitation and hygiene even if the sanitation workers work 24 hours without stop to sweep and clear away the rubbish. As the weather gets warmer, people have become more concerned about the health of the college students, especially those from other places. In the early hours today, some more students from other places entered the square. At present, it has become an important task of the railway departments to direct and give priority to the return of college students to their own places. People of various circles also hope that they will go back as soon as possible.

The temperature in the square varies greatly between day and night. In order to help them go through the long night, the students' own broadcast station carried from time to time some light music. At 0300, some literary and art students breakdanced in the center of the square. Close near the students groups were a few people dozing off. They were people who had come here to submit petitions or who were here on their way to other places for business.

Last night, the streets were calmer than the previous night. However, at 0000, the reporter encountered a large number of people riding bicycles in the West Chang'an Avenue. They expressed their views by booing, hooting, and abusive language. This reporter noticed that many people nearby expressed disapproval of such acts.

By 0600 at the time of filing this article, the troops enforcing martial law were still outside the city proper awaiting orders.

#### More Reports on Health of Striking Students

##### More 'Fall Ill' in Beijing

HK2505005089 *Beijing CHINA DAILY* in English  
25 May 89 p 1

[By our staff reporters]

[Text] More and more student protesters who have come to Tiananmen Square from outside Beijing are now suffering from health problems while a growing number of soldiers blocked on the outskirts of the city have also fallen ill, BEIJING EVENING NEWS reported yesterday.

However, the health of the Beijing students has improved, sources said.

The number of medical treatment posts in Tiananmen Square has increased to about 15 after a plea by the Red Cross Society of China.

Public health officials said yesterday that the health of the Beijing students was improving but that students from other areas were now suffering from colds, conjunctivitis, stomach and intestinal disorders and larynx problems.

Many of the first-aid posts set up at the square had been disbanded at the weekend when the students ended their week-long fast.

More than 50,000 of the students demonstrating on the square vowed yesterday to go on with their sit-in until the government meets their demands.

The students, who come from all over China, also formed a joint union to co-ordinate the activities of the students from Beijing and those from other areas of the country.

Students at the Monument to the People's Heroes told CHINA DAILY that they had received more than 20,000 items of clothing from the people of the city following a torrential downpour on Tuesday afternoon.

Residents in trucks and pedicabs and on bicycles also brought food and drinking water to the students.

In the meantime, Beijing's traffic was almost back to normal yesterday, the fifth day since the imposition of martial law.

All 174 of the city's bus routes had resumed operation by yesterday evening after a gap of more than two days. The city's subways were also completely reopened yesterday morning.

Traffic on the Changan Avenue was stopped only a few times by tens of thousands of demonstrators protesting against the imposition of martial law in Beijing.

But a total of 106 buses, used to shelter the students from the rain, were still on the square yesterday afternoon. Most of the buses used as barricades had been removed.

More students arrived from other parts of the country yesterday to support those conducting their sit-in at the square.

Medical workers from the Beijing Epidemic Prevention Station disinfect the piles of garbage at the square twice a day.

Officials from the Beijing Red Cross Society said that none of the students who took part in the hunger strike last week had died and most had now recovered after hospital treatment.

**RENMIN RIBAO: No Student Deaths**  
OW2505110489 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin  
0900 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] According to a RENMIN RIBAO report today, since the student hunger strike began in Tiananmen Square, Beijing's medical personnel have treated and cured over 9,000 students. No one has died to date.

A RENMIN RIBAO reporter learned from the Beijing Municipal first-aid center that in the 11 days from the students' hunger strike to their sit-ins later on, Beijing's medical personnel have spared no efforts to treat and cure sick students. To date, no student has died.

By 1800 on 24 May, Beijing's 32 hospitals had treated and cured a total of 9,158 students and kept 8,205 students in the hospitals for further observation. As of today, only 66 of them are still kept in the hospitals for observation.

According to a responsible person of the Beijing Municipal Public Health Bureau, since the student hunger strike began in Tiananmen Square, the Beijing Municipal first-aid center and Tongren, Xihua, Youyi, and dozens of other hospitals have gone all out to give first-aid and medical treatment to the sick students round-the-clock. Many medical personnel have not seen their families for days on end. Some of them even insisted on working when they themselves have become ill.

With the assistance and cooperation from the students' parents and people of all walks of life, the medical personnel have fulfilled their strenuous and critical tasks with flying colors. Since the switch from hunger strike to sit-ins, many students have suffered from colds, fever, diarrhea, and other illnesses. Medical personnel from the municipal first-aid center working in Tiananmen Square

have taken prompt and effective preventive measures and given medical treatment. So far, no malicious contagious diseases have been found spreading among the students.

**China Trade Union Federation Denies Strike Call**  
HK2505084689 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese  
23 May 89 p 6

[Report: "Spokesman of All-China Federation of Trade Unions Denies the Rumor That the Federation Calls For Nationwide General Strike"]

[Text] In the last few days, there have been rumors in some localities saying that "The All-China Federation of Trade Unions has called for a nationwide general strike." On 22 May, a spokesman of the federation said: This is merely a rumor with ulterior motives.

The spokesman earnestly pointed out: Recently the All-China Federation of Trade Unions has repeatedly stressed that the vast number of staff members and workers should firmly stay at their posts and do a good job in production and work so as to safeguard the situation of stability and unity and to enable the work of reform, opening up to the outside world, and modernization to be carried out in a stable social environment. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions reiterates and stresses this consistent attitude.

**Authorities Demand RENMIN RIBAO Conform**  
HK2505075989 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO  
in Chinese 25 May 89 p 1

[Dispatch from WEN WEI PO reporters group: "The Final Proof of RENMIN RIBAO Is To Be Submitted to the Authorities for Examination"]

[Text] Beijing, 24 May (WEN WEI PO)—According to people in the know, yesterday, the Editorial Department of RENMIN RIBAO received a notice that as of today, the final proof of the paper must be submitted to the department concerned for examination before printing and distribution.

Yesterday, Wang Renzhi, Yuan Mu, and He Dongchang went to RENMIN RIBAO to transmit the instruction of the department concerned. Since the contents and layout of the pages of RENMIN RIBAO had not conformed to the intention of the department concerned in the past few days, the department concerned proposed that personnel had to be stationed in the Editorial Department of the paper. However, the personnel of the paper expressed that if it did so, it would be preferable that the main personnel of the paper resigned collectively so as to allow the department concerned to take over. After the dispute between the two sides, the personnel of the Editorial Department of the paper were eventually

retained but the final proof has to be submitted for examination. Earlier, Yuan Mu declared at a news conference that China had no censorship and examination system.

Earlier, Li Peng arranged for Wang Renzhi, Yuan Mu, He Dongchang, Zeng Jianxun, and Li Zhiqian (Propaganda Department director of Beijing Municipality) to organize a new propaganda leadership group.

**Central Satellite Transmission Service Suspended**  
HK2505043489 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO

in Chinese 25 May 89 p 1

[“Special Dispatch” from Beijing: “According to Beijing Observers’ Analysis, the Contents of the Central Top-Level Meeting Are Circulated to the Press Units of the Capital; Central Television Station’s Satellite Transmission Service Is Stopped Again Today”]

[Text] Beijing, 24 May (TA KUNG PAO)—Today at 1500 hours, the No 1 men of all press units in Beijing were summoned to a meeting in Zhongnanhai. Analysts here held: The CPC Central Committee wants to circulate the important decision of the top-level meeting to all press units.

The Beijing situation has developed into the central issue in world news, but the period of the working visas of some foreign reporters were not extended by the Chinese Government after expiration.

These are the reporters who have come to China to gather news with temporary visas, not reporters stationed in Beijing for a long period of time. It was learned that the authorities did not give reasons for not extending the period.

According to Beijing: Beijing Central Television Station announced at 1900 hours (Beijing time) yesterday (24 May) that as of 0000 hour today, the satellite transmission service would be suspended again, the relevant service was resumed at 1930 hours Beijing time the day before yesterday; after Beijing began enforcing the martial law earlier, satellite news relay to Hong Kong and foreign countries was stopped.

While being interviewed, a staff member of the Central Television Station expressed that he merely transmitted the order of the upper-level leaders to prohibit the reporters from using the satellite to send news to other places but did not know the specific situation. However, he held that this was by no means a technical problem.

Having received the notice on the suspension of transmission, reporters from all countries strove to make arrangements for the transmission of news fragments in the last few hours; they began packing up their instruments, and got ready to leave the Central Television Station.

**Foreign Airlines Warned Not To Bring Students**  
HK2505102889 Hong Kong AFP in English 1010 GMT  
25 May 89

[Text] Hong Kong, May 25 (AFP)—Chinese authorities have warned foreign airlines not to bring home Chinese students from abroad supporting the pro-democracy movements in Beijing, a weekly magazine reported here Thursday.

The Far Eastern Economic Review (FEER) said in its latest issue that the Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC) had informed foreign airlines operating in Beijing on May 19 that any move to offer Chinese students free or discounted tickets would be regarded as an “unfriendly act.”

The magazine quoted the CAAC’s deputy director for international affairs as saying that the airlines would be “held responsible for the consequence.”

It said the move was a striking display of the siege mentality gripping the Chinese Government.

However, two Hong Kong airlines, Cathay Pacific and Dragonair, said they had not heard of or received such a warning from the Chinese authorities.

**Guangzhou Ticket Sales Halted; Planes Redeployed**  
HK2505102589 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO  
in Chinese 25 May 89 p 1

[Report: “Guangzhou Civil Airline Stops Air Flight Ticket Sales, Airplanes Deployed for Other Purposes”]

[Text] Guangzhou Civil Airline has abruptly canceled sales of all plane tickets for internal flights, disrupting the itineraries of tourist groups, among which Taiwan tourists are most affected.

Personnel from the local tourist sector revealed that Guangzhou Civil Airline had issued a notice to various tourist reception units that between the 24th and 29th there would be no sales of plane tickets for all flights departing from Guangzhou. Units which had already sold tickets should inform their clients that flights might at any time be canceled, or that there might be changes to flight schedules.

These personnel estimated that Hong Kong passengers will not be much affected, as beginning July last year the number of Hong Kong people going on mainland tours has been decreasing and, faced with the uncertain situation on the mainland over recent months, has dropped all the more sharply. As a result the effect on Hong Kong people of stopping the sales of plane tickets is not great. However, it is more serious for Taiwan people, who are still gripped by a great fervor for the mainland, which continues to be strong and shows no sign of abating.

This newspaper has learned from other Guangzhou sources that the reason for the halt of ticket sales by Guangzhou Civil Airline is that some concerned authorities need to deploy the planes for other purposes. At present it is not known to what mission these passenger airplanes will be assigned, but it is thought the measure has to do with the present situation on the mainland.

#### Reportage Continues on Provincial Demonstrations

##### **15,000 Turn Out in Shanghai** HK2505143589 Hong Kong Asia Television Limited in English 2000 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Prodemocracy demonstrations have continued in several major Chinese cities, but the protests have petered out in other areas. Julie Maplestone reports:

[Begin recording] In Shanghai, more than 15,000 protesters turned out this afternoon following reports that Wan Li, the chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, was in the city for medical treatment. The demonstrations, by people from all walks of life, are now a daily routine, despite yesterday's call by the city government for workers to strictly adhere to their respective units to help keep the city normal.

Protests also took place in Tianjin, where 10,000 students held a rally in the main square. Banner-waving protestors shouted slogans calling for the resignation of Li Peng. Workers in Tianjin are also planning a mass rally or strike in the next few days. Demonstrations also continued today in Nanjing, Wuhan, Changsha, Chengdu, and Xian. Most southern, northeastern, and eastern coastal cities took a break following several days of marches, rallies, and sit-ins. [end recording]

##### **Anhui Students Demonstrate** OW2505100189 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] In recent days, students from institutes of higher learning and people of various walks of life in Hefei have continued their demonstrations in the city. In addition to students and teachers from the China Science and Technology University, Anhui University, Hefei Industrial University, and other institutes of higher learning, also participating in the demonstrations are people from the scientific and technological, cultural, journalistic, and publication circles. Workers from some industrial plants have also joined in the demonstrations after their work hours.

Good public order has been maintained by the demonstrators in recent days. The demonstrating students and people have gone out of their way to maintain public order.

##### **10,000 Gansu Students Protest** HK250520189 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Yesterday afternoon about 10,000 students from certain universities and colleges in Lanzhou City demonstrated again in the streets.

After converging on the city's Zhongxin Square at 1300, the student processions from different universities and colleges started marching along the main streets of the city. At the same time, some students also made speeches at corners of the main streets. The staff of some scientific research institutes and a small number of citizens also joined the processions yesterday.

It is also reported that the activities in support of Beijing students are continuing. Yesterday morning student representatives from some universities and colleges in Lanzhou and more than 100 college students from Xian boarded the No 44 passenger train bound to Beijing. Leaders of the relevant departments and some universities hastened to the railway station in time to dissuade them from going. Finally at 1312, the train departed, 4 and 1/2 hours behind schedule. Now there are still scores of college students waiting at the Lanzhou railway station, trying to go to Beijing by train.

##### **March Ends in Guangdong** HK2505031089 Hong Kong HONGKONG STANDARD in English 25 May 89 p 4

[By Tonny Chan in Guangzhou]

[Text] China has a long way to go on the road to democracy and freedom, even if Premier Li Peng steps down, three student leaders said in Guangzhou yesterday.

The remark followed an earlier unconfirmed report that Mr Li was to resign.

The Guangzhou march ended jubilantly with firecrackers after reports the premier would step down.

Student leaders involved in the march, which ended yesterday, said they had celebrated too early not knowing the resignation was unconfirmed.

A leader of the Federation of Guangzhou Patriotic Tertiary School Students, Mr Huang Guo-qiang, and two other federation members who declined to be named, said they shared a common aim with the student movement; a democratic China with the downfall of corrupt officials.

They said the Guangzhou federation would not disband after Mr Li stepped down but would continue to function on a consolidated basis.

The federation was formed recently by students from 36 tertiary institutions to offer support to Beijing's protesting students.

Speaking at Jinan University, Mr Huang said he was optimistic about its future because of the turnout on Tuesday for the march.

"Now I realise deeply everyone's strong desire for democracy. Although the federation is loose at present, it has secured a popular base," Mr Huang said.

He said democracy was becoming an irreversible trend and offered favourable conditions for the continued growth of the federation.

Mr Huang said consolidation was underway with the planned formation of branches in the 36 education institutions.

Mr Huang said the government was not subject to any effective check-and-balance system, adding the emergence of independent bodies could become a force to provide the monitoring function.

The three leaders are confident the student movement will soon be recognised by the central government.

Mr Huang hoped the government, when it agreed to open talks with the students, could cooperate and devise a concrete plan to deal with problems at root levels.

"Such a dialogue can help find out the cause of problems with the present system," Mr Huang said.

Another student leader said there would be a lot more to do even after Mr Li stepped down.

She said if the government agreed to recognise the student movement, later efforts would gain support from provincial officials that was important.

"Otherwise, it would be impossible to start the next stage if the movement were labelled as criminal. Efforts to follow would then only lead to a crackdown," she said.

### Processions Staged in Hunan

HK2505005489 *Changsha Hunan Provincial Service*  
in Mandarin 2200 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] During the day and evening of 24 May, there were relatively large processions in the downtown area of Changsha. Students and some workers, peasants, and people from the intellectual, press, and publication circles marched in good order along Wuyi, Bayi, Renmin, and Jianxiang Roads. In the evening, when the masses, who had been busy working all day, poured into the streets to watch the processions, there was a fairly large crowd.

The number of students staging sit-ins in front of the provincial government building and the square of Changsha railway station still did not decrease yesterday, and there were no signs that they would withdraw soon. Some medical personnel and ambulances stood fast at their posts. Because the students had stopped fasting a long time before, they looked relaxed. Although the sit-in sites were swept and cleaned in the mornings and evenings, the sanitation conditions were still worrisome. Wuyi Road, Central, remained blocked.

According to a responsible person of the provincial Economic Commission, no workers have gone on strike throughout the province in recent days. The production order is basically normal. Over the past 2-3 days, however, some students from the provincial capital have been to some factories to make speeches, causing great uneasiness to factory directors, as well as concerns and worries among people of all circles. They hope that the students will not go to factories to make speeches, lest the normal production order will be affected.

### Hunan Students Keep Order

HK2505021489 *Changsha Hunan Provincial Service*  
in Mandarin 2200 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] The college students staging peaceful demonstrations and sit-ins in Changsha streets have voluntarily organized themselves and, together with the public security personnel standing fast at their posts day and night, jointly maintain social and traffic order.

Up to yesterday, Changsha's social order was basically stable. Except for a few road sections, traffic in the principal streets remains basically open.

In recent days, some college students in Changsha took to the streets and staged sit-ins in front of the provincial government building. People from some other units also took to the streets. This, plus the large numbers of onlookers, has made the traffic even more congested, causing traffic jams. Some lawless elements seized the chance to make trouble and fish in troubled waters.

To maintain normal life order in the provincial capital, the provincial and city authorities have dispatched a number of people's armed policemen and public security personnel to patrol the places where the students are staging sit-ins around the clock.

In front of the provincial government building, a people's armed policeman told this reporter that they have to be on point duty for 12 hours. Up to yesterday, they had been on duty for 8 days. Most of the people's armed policemen and public security personnel on duty were tired out, unable to get a good sleep or eat a good dinner for many days.

It was learned that the people's armed policemen and public security personnel on duty get along quite well with the college students. When it rained, some traffic

policemen, without giving a thought to whether or not they would be drenched, sent 20 umbrellas to the students staging sit-ins. The students also frequently offered tea and water to some people's armed policemen and public security personnel. Not having a good understanding of the people's armed policemen and public security personnel on duty, some people in the crowd sometimes hurled insults at them and even intentionally pushed and squeezed. Seeing this, on the one hand, the students shouted propaganda through loudspeakers, calling on the crowd to maintain order of their own accord; on the other hand, they organized over 600 students and, together with the people's armed policemen and public security personnel, formed a defense line to prevent the onlookers from sneaking into the student ranks.

#### **'Hooligans' Attack Hunan Buildings**

HK2505040289 Hong Kong AFP in English  
0352 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Beijing, May 25 (AFP)—Student demonstrators and police banded together to foil an attack by "scoundrels" on municipal government headquarters in Changsha, capital of Hunan Province, the PEOPLE'S DAILY reported Thursday.

The incident happened in the early hours of Monday when the gang attacked, burned and looted a local police station, the PEOPLE'S DAILY said, quoting a report in a Changsha newspaper dated Tuesday.

They then attempted to force their way into the municipal headquarters, the PEOPLE'S DAILY report said, without indicating how many people were involved.

The gang threw bricks and rocks, and beat up and robbed some 10 security personnel who attempted to restrain them, the report said. They also overturned a jeep, smashed windows and barricaded the road causing a fire engine to crash.

Student demonstrators on sit-in strike in the courtyard of the municipal headquarters joined police in preventing the "hooligans" from entering the building.

Over 40 people were arrested, the report added.

On April 22 dozens of shops were damaged in Changsha when riots broke out following a student demonstration in the city center calling for greater democracy in China.

#### **Tianjin Students Go to Beijing**

SK2505045189 Tianjin City Service  
in Mandarin 0000 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] On the morning of 14 May, some 700 students from a number of higher educational institutions in the municipality, including Nankai and Tianjin Universities, traveled by bicycle to Beijing Municipality to participate in the activities of petition.

In addition to those who came from Nankai and Tianjin Universities, those college students who traveled to Beijing Municipality also included some from Tianjin Textile College, Tianjin Normal University, the Civil Aviation College, Hebei Engineering College, and the Technical Teachers' College.

Upon hearing the student plan of going to Beijing, the departments concerned tried to dissuade them from going, but failed. When the students were on their way to Beijing, the traffic cadres and policemen of the municipal Public Security Bureau actively conducted traffic guidance for them to maintain traffic order along the highway. The student bicyclettecade arrived without mishap in Beijing at about 1830 that evening.

#### **Protest in Tianjin**

SK2505063189 Tianjin City Service  
in Mandarin 0000 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] On the afternoon of 16 May, some students from the higher educational institutions in the municipality staged a sit-in demonstration at the Tianjin railway station square. According to a speech by one of the demonstrating students, their sit-in demonstration is to support the fasting students in Beijing Municipality as well as to publicize their opinions to the broad masses of citizens.

At 1400, several thousand students with banners reading "Nankai University," "Tianjin University," and "Save the lives of 3,000 children" staged a sit-in demonstration at the Tianjin railway station square. Some students made speeches before the passengers and spectators encircling the students, delivered leaflets to them, and collected donations from them.

At about 2000, some 400 students joined in the demonstration, including some students from the teachers' university. The newly joined students read the emergency letter of appeal with the signatures of several hundred professors, staff members, and workers of Nankai University, including (Shen Panwen) and (Liu Zhonghua), before the demonstrating students and the crowds encircling the students.

During the demonstration, public security cadres and policemen, railway station personnel in charge of services, and the student representatives mutually made efforts to maintain order at the scene. At about 2200, these sit-in students returned to their schools by buses specially dispatched by the departments concerned.

It has been learned that more than 30 students from our municipality joined in the activities of fasting and filing petitions in Beijing. By 2200 on 16 May, five students had fainted and were given emergency treatment.

On 16 May and on the early morning of 17 May, several groups of students from our municipality also went to Beijing Municipality by train.

## Reportage on People's Army Deployment

### Deng Uses Troops As Deterrent

HK2505065089 Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese  
25 May 89 p 1

[Article by Hsia Lu (1115 5684): "Part of Deng Xiaoping's Overt Scheme"]

[Text] The political situation on the mainland is erratic and unpredictable. Two things had quite a great influence on the political situation yesterday. First, various military regions, various arms of the services, and the PLA headquarters scrambled to express their stand in support of Li Peng's speech. Second, Wan Li, chairman of the NPC [National People's Congress] Standing Committee, quickly ended his U.S. visit to return to Beijing.

The expression of the stand by the Army makes people worried and disturbed. Would the Army again force its way into Beijing and suppress the student movement with military force? Of the seven military regions, the Beijing Military Region has not expressed its stand. Would an Army split thus result? Would China's Army be involved in a civil war because of such a split? These questions at first occurred to this writer. But on second thought, he negated all three of these questions. The reasons are as follows: First, Deng Xiaoping's 10 years of reform have brought about a great change in the quality of China's Army. Large numbers of officers with a sense of reform have become the backbone of the PLA. They are unwilling to let the Chinese Army become a tool of inner-party struggle. Second, the Chinese Communists have hitherto relied on various secret and open plans to solve the problem of inner-party struggle and have basically not resorted to the use of Armed Forces. Deng Xiaoping has this time deployed a large number of troops to surround Beijing. The main aim is to let the Army produce a deterrent effect. For health reasons, Wan Li rushed back home. This has given rise to various conjectures. But this writer believes that his return to the country is part of Deng Xiaoping's open scheming. The problem of the student unrest must be solved. Inner-party struggle must also be ended. Wan Li is the key figure in solving these problems. He is not just the chairman of the NPC Standing Committee and a member of the Chinese Communist Political Bureau but also a person that both reformists and conservatives can accept. Moreover, because Wan Li, together with Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, was an important general of Deng Xiaoping's in the early stage of the 10-year reform, his emergence to pick up the pieces can also be easily accepted by the students and intellectuals. Given the simultaneous downfall of Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng, Wan Li's appearance can have a pacifying effect on reformists.

But some people also consider that on the television screen, Wan Li in his meeting with U.S. President Bush looked absentminded and serious. It was most likely that

he had been criticized by the Chinese Communist decisionmakers for what he said about the student movement abroad. His return to the country in response to orders is an act of willingly walking into a trap. If such is the truth, it means that Deng Xiaoping wants to totally eliminate the reformists and to personally ruin the results of China's 10 years of reform. China will again enter a dark period. That is also not a good thing. When the time for the full exposure of the defects of the gerontocracy comes, it will mean that the time of its coming to a total end is not far away.

### PLA Letter to Troops

OW2405220789 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service  
in Chinese 1556 GMT 24 May 89

[“Local Broadcast News Service”]

[Text] Beijing, 24 May (XINHUA)—Following is the full text of a letter of appreciation, dated 22 May, from the Liberation Army General Staff, Political, and Logistics Departments to all officers and soldiers of the troops enforcing martial law in some areas in Beijing Municipality.

Dear Officers and Soldiers of the Martial Law Enforcement Troops:

Greetings! You have been working hard!

In order to safeguard the capital's social stability, stop the increasingly serious social turmoil, and swiftly restore the normal order, you have been ordered by the Central Military Commission to perform the sacred tasks of martial law in the capital of the great motherland. This is an important mission entrusted to you by the party and the government, and shows a high degree of trust placed in you by the motherland and its people. Your action will not only have a direct bearing on peace and tranquillity in the capital, but also exert a great influence on stability of the nation. Now, the people of all circles are watching you, so are the officers and soldiers of the whole Army and the people all over the country!

Over the past few days, you have proved, with your concrete action, that you are indeed capable of shouldering the sacred tasks and living up to the earnest expectations of the party and the people. Resolutely implementing the Central Military Commission's order, you got mobilized immediately and, in the course of coming to Beijing, endured the hardships of a grueling trip day and night, defying heat, hunger, and thirst, and eating in the wind and sleeping in the dew. Obstructed in action, you have always maintained high morale, even without food, drink, or sleep. In the face of the new mission and test, all of you, from leaders at different levels to soldiers, have demonstrated a high degree of political awareness, strong sense of organization and discipline, and fine

military quality. The facts have once again proved that our troops will obey the party and are entirely trustworthy. We extend to you our cordial appreciation and noble salute!

You have come to Beijing to perform a new assignment. In the solemn political struggle having a vital bearing on the future destiny of the country and the people, the troops will encounter all kinds of difficulty and test in halting turmoil and restoring the normal order. Hence, we have the following hopes placed on you comrades:

It is hoped that you will study diligently and obtain a clear understanding of the situation. At the present, turmoil stirred up by the very few people has not yet calmed down, and some of them are still carrying out the activity. Should their conspiracy succeed, the fruits of the decade-long reform achieved by the people across the country and the socialist modernization drive will be destroyed overnight. All comrades of the martial law enforcement troops should penetratingly study the important speeches by Premier Li Peng and President Yang Shangkun on 19 May and the 26 April RENMIN RIBAO editorial so as to fully recognize the nature of this struggle, recognizing that the troops shoulder an important and glorious duty of performing the martial law tasks which reflect the strong aspirations of the masses of people yearning for stability and unity.

It is hoped that you will take a firm and clear-cut stand. The very few people have stirred up trouble and turmoil with an aim to negate the CPC's leadership and the socialist system. In the face of this struggle on major issues of principle, we must keep a cool head and adopt a firm revolutionary stand. Regardless of grim circumstances and complexities in the struggle, it is necessary to unswervingly implement the order of the party Central Committee and the Central Military Commission and steadfastly listen to the command of the martial law enforcement headquarters in the capital in protecting the vital interests of the masses of people and waging an unequivocal struggle against the conspiracy of the very few people.

It is hoped that you will brave difficulties and be undaunted by obstacles. Performing the special assignment in a new environment far away from their barracks, the troops will not only encounter difficulties in material supply and everyday life, but also unforeseeable new circumstances and problems. We should display the "five kinds of revolutionary spirit" advocated by Chairman Deng, defy hardships and fatigue, and work conscientiously and not be upset by criticism so as to win victory in this struggle with a persevering spirit.

It is hoped that you will strengthen discipline in implementing policies. In enforcing martial law, you will encounter complex circumstances and deal with many problems with a strong political orientation. Therefore, all comrades must enhance their sense of organization and discipline and conscientiously observe the Three

Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention. All comrades should protect every tree and blade of grass in the capital and should not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses. It is necessary to obey orders, listen to the command, set good examples in observing state laws and statutes, and resolutely do things according to the provisions of relevant policies.

It is hoped that you will cherish the people and strengthen unity. Our Army is an army of the people. Our Army's sole objective is to serve the people wholeheartedly, and its fine tradition, to support the government and cherish the people. We must cherish the capital, its residents, and the students, and perform duties with civility to win the support and trust of the masses of people with concrete action. We must not only ensure the unity within the Army and with the government and the people, but also strengthen unity with public security personnel and armed police units to support each other in jointly striving, with a concerted effort, to restore normal order in the capital and promote national stability and unity.

Enforcement of the martial law tasks is an arduous and complex work. The large numbers of communist party members and communist youth league members, leading cadres at different levels in particular, must bring into play the exemplary vanguard role and be the role models for the troops. We are convinced that all comrades of the martial law enforcement troops will surely live up to the expectations and great trust of the party Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and all comrades of the Army in enduring new test and temperament in performing the martial law tasks, and contributing more to the smooth progress of the reform and opening policy and the modernization drive.

You shall be remembered by the party and the people, by the Republic, and your meritorious services shall be indelibly engraved in the annals of history!

The Chinese People's Liberation Army General Staff, Political, and Logistics Departments

22 May 1989

**Press on PLA Letter**  
OW2505060189 Beijing XINHUA in English  
0533 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Beijing, May 25 (XINHUA)—The highlights of the major Beijing-based newspapers:

Most major Beijing-based newspapers carry on their front pages a letter from the Headquarters of the General Staff, the General Political Department and the General Logistics Department of the People's Liberation Army, expressing appreciation of the officers and soldiers of the troops transferred to Beijing to impose martial law on parts of the city.

The letter says that the officers and soldiers came to Beijing "in accordance with the strong wishes of the masses" to quickly curb the present turmoil in Beijing that is getting more and more serious.

The letter demands that all the officers and soldiers obey orders and take a clear-cut stand in fighting against the plot of "very few" people.

The newspapers also carry a report that all bus and subway traffic in Beijing had been restored by Wednesday and social order in the city has returned to normal, although the Army troops transferred to enforce martial law on parts of Beijing are still impeded in the suburbs by masses of students and residents. Some of the troops have retreated a short distance, but the troops continue to stay around the city and wait for further orders.

All the newspapers carry remarks by United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar who stressed that he is extremely concerned about the situation in China and hopes that no incidents of violence will occur.

The CHINA YOUTH NEWS issued its third news analysis entitled "The Situation in Beijing: Wish and Fact."

The news analysis says that it was especially tranquil in Beijing on Wednesday except for the actions of "several persons of unknown identity" who made an abortive attack on an individual car on the Tiananmen Square and escaped. It also expresses the worries of residents in Beijing, who fear that the city's ongoing air of tranquility cannot last indefinitely, since there is no sign that the students will compromise or the authorities will withdraw the troops surrounding the city.

**Li Peng Sends Envoy to Troops**  
OW2405184689 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service  
in Chinese 1725 GMT 24 May 89

[“Local Broadcast News Service”]

[Text] Beijing, 24 May (XINHUA)—Entrusted by Premier Li Peng, Luo Gan, secretary general of the State Council, called on and expressed appreciation to commanders and fighters of the Beijing Garrison and fighters of the armed police corps, who have been guarding the Beijing Telegraph Building, Color Television Center, Central People's Broadcasting Station, and International Radio Station.

Luo Gan told the commanders and fighters: In the midst of chaotic public order in Beijing Municipality, you have encountered grave difficulties in performing your tasks over the past few days, without getting proper meals, sleep, and rest. You have strictly observed discipline and shown a deep affection for the capital, its residents, and the students, and your action has gradually won the understanding and support of the students and people in all circles of society. Now that order in the capital is

gradually returning to normal, we firmly believe that under the leadership of the party Central Committee and the State Council, and with the common efforts of the vast numbers of commanders and fighters, public security personnel, armed policemen, students, and people in various circles, normal order for everyday life and public order in the capital will soon be restored. It is hoped that the large numbers of workers and staff members will support the commanders and fighters in jointly ensuring the work of guarding the security of the important departments.

Luo Gan also called on and expressed appreciation to comrades on night duty in the Ministry of Radio, Film, and Television.

**Envoy Greets Soldiers**  
OW2405183789 Beijing XINHUA in English  
1823 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Beijing, May 24 (XINHUA)—Luo Gan, secretary-general of the State Council, entrusted by Premier Li Peng, extended solicitude this evening to People's Liberation Army commanders and soldiers and armed policemen defending a few departments in Beijing.

Luo Gan said that under the confused situation in Beijing, they have met great difficulties in carrying out their task.

Order is being restored in the capital, he said.

He believed that under the leadership of the party Central Committee and the State Council and with joint efforts of the Army commanders and soldiers, policemen, armed policemen, students, and people of other circles in the capital, Beijing is surely able to restore normal life and social order.

Luo Gan came to see Army soldiers and armed policemen who are protecting the Beijing Telegraph Building, the China Central Television, the Central People's Broadcasting Station, and Radio Beijing.

**Army Article Attracts Attention**  
HK2505041289 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese  
25 May 89 p 1

[“Special Article” from Beijing: “Army Paper Article Attracts Great Attention”]

[Text] Beijing, 24 May—Yesterday and today, JIEFANGJUN BAO carried articles written in very tough language, and this attracted people's serious attention. On 23 May, the Army paper carried a report about the meeting of the general political department of the Army, saying: “Facts more and more clearly show that the current upheaval is created in an organized, planned,

and premeditated way, and its purpose is to subvert the leadership of the CPC and oppose the socialist system, so we must discern the essence of the events through their appearance."

On 24 May, the newspaper carried an appreciation letter issued by the General Staff Headquarters, the General Political Department, and the General Logistics Department to the troops which were enforcing martial law. The letter explicitly said that the purpose of enforcing martial law is to "stop the more and more serious social disturbances." It also said that what is going on is "a serious political struggle concerning the future and destiny of the state and the nation," and is "a struggle between the right and the wrong on principled issues." The letter said that "a very small number of people are agitating people and creating disturbances for the purpose of negating the leadership of the CPC and the socialist system."

In addition, according to sources, principal responsible people from all provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities have been summoned to Beijing, but the enlarged meeting of the political bureau has not been held yet. Reportedly, Jiang Zemin, a political bureau member and secretary of the Shanghai municipal party committee, also flew to Beijing from Shanghai earlier this morning.

#### Editorial Views Military's Role

HK2305021189 Hong Kong *SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST* in English 23 May 89 p 22

[Editorial: "Attitude of Military Will Determine Events"]

[Text] The intercession of some of the military hierarchy in China to deter the use of force against student demonstrators is one of the most positive signs to emerge from the confusion of events in Beijing. Although the presence of thousands of soldiers of the People's Liberation Army [PLA] around Beijing continues to create the potential for a major tragedy, history shows that the military can be a force for good, depending on the course it adopts. If the generals who are now expressing their opposition to crushing the democracy protest were to avoid the temptation of seeking power for themselves, they would be hailed as defenders of the people. However, the current leadership vacuum in China may require the military as a whole to play a longer-term role. Restoration of order is not enough; the armed forces should support fundamental changes which address both the demands now being made by the protest movement, and the leadership succession.

In a letter, a distinguished group of senior military officers said yesterday: "The People's Liberation Army belongs to the people. It cannot confront the people, even more so it cannot suppress the people and it will never shoot the people." How representative that view is of the thinking of all the PLA commanders in Beijing

remains to be seen, but it is inevitable that there will be opposing factions within the military hierarchy. In such a tense situation, the isolated clashes which have taken place so far are likely to spread.

Just as the party leadership has found itself in a position never previously confronted, the military too is facing an unprecedented dilemma. During the Cultural Revolution, the People's Liberation Army was called to restore order following the apparent failed coup attempt, masterminded by the defence minister, Marshal Lin Biao. In 1976, following the death of Mao Zedong, it was the military which intervened to force the downfall of the Gang of Four. In the current situation, the target for military action could be either the people on the streets of many Chinese cities, or the current party leadership. Only the PLA generals have the power to satisfy the aspirations of the demonstrators, or re-impose the iron control of the party system.

#### Recall the NPC

If there is to be dialogue rather than dictatorship, the starting point must be the application of the Constitution in deeds, not just words. China's Constitution is a precise document, clearly defining the powers and responsibilities of the institutions of state. That is why the students have now added to their demands a call for the National People's Congress [NPC] to be convened for an emergency session. By calling for decisions from an assembly of thousands, rather than of a handful, the protest movement has shown abiding and encouraging faith in the ability of the system to right itself.

The NPC is the most appropriate forum for the discussion of issues of concern for the entire country, because it is by far the most representative national institution. Article 57 of the Constitution states: "The National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China is the highest organ of state power." Only the NPC can collectively deliberate on the goals sought by the protest movement. It is within the NPC's power to establish a commission to probe corruption and nepotism at high levels; no one from the president down is immune from its authority.

By contrast the State Council, which decreed the imposition of martial law on areas of Beijing, is simply an executive body answerable to the NPC. With the State Council having endorsed the martial law edict, the student leaders would be naturally wary about opening any belated dialogue with the leadership, in the unlikely event of it being offered at this stage.

There are four key areas which need to be examined if there is to be any hope of a peaceful outcome to the troubles in China: the leadership question (including the succession process), the separation of powers between the Communist Party and the government, corruption and nepotism, and freedom of expression. Only last week Mr Li Peng reminded visiting Soviet President Mikhail

Gorbachev that the West had no monopoly on freedoms and democracy. If that can be taken as a genuine expression of intent, the first step should be to act on the ideals already enshrined in the Constitution, to satisfy the requirements of an evolving society.

Since the founding of the People's Republic the country has not resolved the question of succession, a common failure in most socialist states. Mr Deng Xiaoping expressed on several occasions the need to impose a 10-year limit on the length of tenure and for the dignified retirement of senior officials. Compounding the problem is that in China today there is an absence of promising leaders in their 40s and 50s, a testimony to the grim success with which the Cultural Revolution weeded out a generation of potential policy makers. By selecting and cultivating young pragmatic leaders, China could minimise the difficulties that invariably accompany any "change of dynasty". This also means eliminating those elements of dogmatic ideology which are outdated yet still forcefully applied.

#### No Disagreement

The separation of powers of party and government is necessary, a view espoused by the late party general secretary, Mr Hu Yaobang, and reaffirmed two years ago by his successor, Mr Zhao Ziyang, who also at the time was premier. A less-politicised civil service would ensure that China can be administered with consistency and continuity, whatever the pace of change. This has to be a first step towards the broadening of the government base, and the development of a thoroughly professional bureaucracy which can weather mistakes made by the political leadership.

There is no disagreement on the demand for the end to corruption and nepotism. That some senior members of the party are guilty of this has seriously harmed the image of the government, making a mockery of the constitutional guarantee of equality. The test for the central government would be to extend the campaign against corruption to the provincial level, where the problem is grave.

Freedom of expression is crucial to the process. It is one of the focal points of the protest movement which has drawn considerable strength from the support it has received from journalists in the state-controlled media. The factual coverage given to the demonstrations by official newspapers, at both national and local level, before martial law was declared, is a sign of the profound desire by the journalists to make information accessible. The crackdown over the past few days on the domestic media, and the obstruction of televised foreign news, are disturbing developments. The desire for reliable information is demonstrated by Guangzhou residents tuning to Hong Kong and international media, for objective coverage of the crisis. To this can be added a widespread feeling that the state should respect individual rights, including that of the expression of legitimate grievances.

Which way China goes in the next few days depends on whether or not the majority of the military heed the call of the generals who signed the letter opposing the use of force against the citizens. Another influential voice could be that of the chairman of the NPC, Mr Wan Li, who should cut short his tour of North America and reconvene the body. The Constitution can be China's salvation; it is a fair document that deserves to be applied fully.

#### Xinjiang Units Support Li's Speech

HK2505145389 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service  
in Mandarin 1130 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] The Standing Committee and administrative and logistics departments of the Xinjiang Military District have seriously studied the important speeches of Comrades Li Peng and Yang Shangkun in recent days and expressed their determination to safeguard the wise decision of the central authorities to stop the turmoil. In the study, everyone realized the responsibility of the Army to maintain the political situation and preserve stability and unity. They expressed their determination to oppose turmoil with a clear-cut stand and never let the CPC Central Committee, State Council, and Central Military Commission down. Through study and discussions, the officers and men increased their understanding of the measures adopted by the party and government to suppress the turmoil. They said that the grave extent of the turmoil stirred up by a handful of people has been rare since the founding of the PRC. Unless we adopt resolute measures to stop the turmoil, the tragedy of the Cultural Revolution may be repeated and the hard-won political situation of stability and unity and the reform achievements may be undermined in a moment. A promising China will then have no prospects. It is absolutely necessary and timely for the State Council to issue the martial law order. Some comrades said that there will be no tranquility unless we put down the turmoil. The resolute measures adopted by the central authorities reflect the fundamental interests of the whole party, Army, and people. We support these measures. The Xinjiang Military District issued a circular to various units a few days ago, calling on party organizations at all levels and officers and men to seek unity of thinking with the spirit of Li Peng's speech, realize the Army's great responsibility and the necessity and importance of imposing martial law in some areas in the capital, justly and firmly oppose turmoil, and maintain stability and unity. All units should enforce discipline, strengthen Army management, and contribute to the stability and unity of the border region.

#### Fujian Army Supports Martial Law

OW2505100989 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service  
in Mandarin 1000 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] After earnestly studying for the past several days the speeches that Premier Li Peng and President Yang Shangkun made at the meeting of party, government, and military cadres in the capital, as well as the State

Council's martial law order, the party committees and organs of a certain group army and its subordinate units stationed in coastal Fujian have unanimously pledged their firm support for the resolute measures taken by the party Central Committee and the State Council to stop unrest.

Since late April, the group army has persisted in carrying out positive education among the troops in an effort to guide the vast number of officers and men to have a correct perspective about the parades, class boycotts, sit-ins, and hunger strikes staged by students in Beijing. The group army has also refuted the rumors spread by an extremely small number of elements who have attempted to create unrest, thus making a success of its ideological education among the troops. This has helped everyone understand that only when stability is maintained and upheaval stopped in the capital and other parts of the country can reform, opening up, democracy, law, and economic development be ensured, and can corrupt officials be punished and the motherland be revitalized.

Officers and men have indicated that as soldiers of the republic, they must take a clear-cut stand and resort to action to accomplish their sacred, constitutional mission of safeguarding peace and protecting the interests of the people.

The group army is shouldering the heavy burden of guarding the eastern part of the motherland and protecting the economic construction of the special economic and development zones in Fujian. Presently, the vast number of officers and men are maintaining a high degree of vigilance, strictly abiding by discipline, holding fast to their posts, performing their duties faithfully, and intensifying drills. Because of this, their training activities, work, and life are all in good order. Many officers and men have also written letters to their relatives and friends to educate them.

**Moscow TV: PLA Supports Students**  
OW2505130189 Moscow Television Service in Russian  
1145 GMT 25 May 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] The situation in Beijing last night and this morning remained calm. Last night, students and sanitary workers cleared Tiananmen Square of the mountains of debris and food remains. The people of the city brought food and warm clothes to the participants of the demonstrations who have set up their tent city on the Square.

Demonstrations consisting of students and workers mounted on bicycles, made their way through the main streets of Beijing. Occasionally, open trucks and buses decorated with red banners and carrying youth, could be seen during the day. Tiananmen Square is covered with buses and tents, ambulances and water tanks, rubbish,

clothes, and food remnants. Among all this, young participants of the demonstrations can be seen sitting, sleeping, walking, and debating. Also seen there, in small groups carrying banners and placards, yelling out slogans—Long Live the Students, Long Live the People—are the visiting students from provincial towns.

New leaflets appeared on Tiananmen Square that say the Army has always supported and will continue to support the people. The students' struggle won the ardent support of the military. The leaflets also say that the introduction of martial law is antidemocratic. The students will keep up their struggle until the final victory and they call for the immediate convening of an extraordinary session of the National People's Congress.

#### Comments, Reportage on Current Political Unrest

**Editorial Examines Beijing Moves**  
HK2105054989 Hong Kong *SOUTH CHINA  
SUNDAY MORNING POST* in English  
21 May 89 p 12

[Editorial: "A surge of Sentiment Beijing Cannot Ignore"]

[Text] China has reached an historic turning point from which the outcome is uncertain. The decision by the State Council to impose martial law on a section of Beijing and to send in troops to remove students from Tiananmen Square is ominous. The course which the leadership feels it has been compelled to take will raise questions over the future of many reforms instituted since the end of the Cultural Revolution. Undoubtedly, it has harmed public confidence in Hong Kong.

Evidence of this was not difficult to find in the territory yesterday. Community leaders were unanimous in not only their support and sympathy for the students but criticism of the Chinese leadership. Ordinary citizens too took every opportunity to put across their views. A planned two-hour special on RTHK's [Radio Television Hong Kong] English-language Radio 3 was extended for six hours to cope with the staggering volume of calls from the public, most of them expressing anxiety for both Hong Kong and China. Despite the inclement weather, massive crowds in Hong Kong, Macao, Guangzhou and Shanghai—the biggest since the protests began a month ago—turned out to demonstrate.

Disquiet over the unfolding events in China has been felt around the world; the general opinion has been that the demands by the Chinese protesters for a dialogue with the government, an end to corruption and rule by law need to be heard. Foreign leaders too have conveyed similar concern, with many urging the leadership in China to abide by its promise to the protesters, who represent an extensive body of views within the country.

If the students are to be accused of fomenting unrest and subversion, then the leadership must accept the responsibility for allowing the situation to deteriorate over the last week. The lack of order in Beijing has been caused as much by the resolve of the protesters as by the inability of the leadership to defuse the situation. Whatever the underlying political reasons, the government can claim that it had shown a tolerance not seen in the past.

The root of the problem reaches deep into China's past. The leadership is correct in its belief that change cannot be immediate. The abolition of the Communist Party is not being sought and it is spurious to suggest otherwise. Rather, what is being asked for is the regeneration of the present government through further economic, social and political reforms, which are interdependent on one another if they are to succeed. It is an act of delusion to believe that reforms can now proceed on different tracks and with different speeds.

There is little doubt that the sense of lost dignity created by the disruption to the visit of Soviet President, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, last week firmed the resolve of the hard-liners within the leadership. But the embarrassment created by the protest movement is insignificant compared with the subsequent international reaction now emerging following the military crackdown. The tragedy is that the government may not have had to resort to such a course had there been mutual trust and a minimum of political imagination.

A more-acceptable and less-controversial route would have been to reconvene the National People's Congress in emergency session to explore ways for a dialogue and to present a forum for discussion. The leadership, however, chose a tough option in the belief that the risks of national polarisation and incipient anarchy, plus harm to the reputation of the state and worsening unrest were not worth taking. Irrespective of any repressive measure, the individuality of thought which has been bred by reforms in China over the last decade cannot be erased.

That the crackdown in Beijing triggered immediate alarm in Hong Kong was expected. But the real concern must be the long-term implications for confidence in the territory as its moves from British to Chinese sovereignty. Only a week ago the Hong Kong Government was outlining its initial plans to hopefully stem the so-called "brain drain." The trouble in China will not only provide those already abroad with a new justification for not returning but may also convince others who have been pondering the emigration option. What is more, it will be difficult to defray the concerns of the Hong Kong public who have been asked to have faith in the future Special Administrative Region (SAR). The Hong Kong Stock Market, a vital gauge of public confidence, fell by 132.8 points on Friday and its performance this week will be a further measure of reaction to the events in China.

There is an emerging belief in Hong Kong that the future is dependent more on developments in China than locally; events on the mainland and their ramifications cannot be guarded against in all circumstances by the clauses enshrined in either the Basic Law or the Joint Declaration. In that sense, the optimism that the governments in Hong Kong, China and Britain have been nurturing for the past five years could be placed under severe strain.

The nature of the protests throughout China can be seen as a beginning rather than an end. Irrespective of the outcome of the government's crackdown, its leaders cannot ignore that there is an undercurrent of sentiment in the country which requires an avenue of expression. If this can be achieved in a non-confrontational manner it will be all the better for China, and Hong Kong.

#### Student Prospects Hard To Foresee

HK2505074189 Hong Kong *MING PAO* in Chinese  
25 May 89 p 1

[("Special Dispatch" by Shih Liu-tzu (4258 2692 1311): "Beijing Is Facing a Latent Crisis")]

[Text] Beijing, 25 May—The citizens have rejoiced at their success in stopping the troops from moving into Beijing over the last 5 days since the government declared martial law in the capital city. Life in Beijing is returning to normal and business is thriving. Traffic accidents and criminal cases have drastically reduced. Many people think that Li Peng's downfall is a foregone conclusion, and what they should do now is buy fire-crackers for the celebration of his downfall. But as the writer sees it, the situation is not that simple. The prospects still remain difficult to foresee and a latent crisis is becoming apparent.

First, over the last 5 days since the declaration of martial law, neither Zhao Ziyang nor Li Peng has made a public appearance. This indicates that the situation is still at a deadlock and differences still exist. Both sides are contending for opposing sides: the troops and the students.

Second, the troops mobilized by Li Peng and Yang Shangkun came from Jinan, Shanxi, Nei Mongol, Sichuan, and Hebei and are equipped with heavy weapons. Apart from this, planes in military airports have increased and 10 large passenger planes have been transported from other regions to Beijing. This is completely unnecessary in dealing with the student demonstrations or any other violent movements; it is possible that the troops are being transferred to tackle a mutiny. Although the 100,000 troops that surrounded Beijing several days ago have "retreated," this is not a genuine withdrawal but a pause for further orders where they are.

Third, yesterday two different helicopters distributed different "leaflets" from the sky over Changan Boulevard. One distributed leaflets carrying 20 slogans of the troops transferred to execute the martial law order and

the other dropped a statement by seven senior generals who objected to the troops' entry into the city. Obviously, an internal military conflict is becoming intense.

Fourth, reports keep asserting that some unidentified people have made trouble. On 22 May, some troops and civilians clashed in Dajing Village on the west of Beijing. Both sides hurled bricks and broken tiles at each other and several soldiers and civilians were wounded. On 23 May, a plainclothes military officer at the company level suddenly fell from a truck and was examined to be dead on the spot, and some people passed themselves off as students to commit crimes. It was reported that on 23 May, Liu Wen, chief of the criminal investigation department of the Ministry of Public Security, made an investigative speech in Tiananmen Square in the guise of a university's staff member.

Fifth, the government-organized "Beijing People's Public Order Control Team" has a strong feeling of resentment against the students, and friction has occurred between both sides.

Sixth, impatient feelings have arisen between the troops being halted and the civilians who are halting the troops. The civilians are very much eager to have the troops pulled out whereas the troops have expressed that they "will not take the rap lying down." Factors causing frictions between both sides are increasing.

Seventh, on 23 May, the portrait of Mao Zedong on the Tiananmen rostrum was smeared with some black ink by some people. This is a sign that causes more worry among people.

Observers believe the above developments will aggravate the worsening situation. The 1956 "Hungarian" incident broke out just because a soldier's rifle went off accidentally due to his carelessness, thereby leading to a large-scale national disaster.

More rumors are coming from Beijing since the news blackout. There are two kinds of speculation. One asserts that Li Peng has resigned and the other speculates that Zhao Ziyang has been accused of being the head of an antiparty, counterrevolutionary clique. Either Li Peng's resignation or Zhao Ziyang's dismissal could result in a major political and economic crisis. If Li Peng resigns, how should the party and government leaders from a dozen or so provinces and cities that have just declared their loyalty to Li Peng step down? Since many old-aged party members are behind Li Peng, he is sure to wage a deathbed struggle. In addition, his relatives will not sit idly by or allow themselves to be seized without putting up a fight. If Zhao Ziyang is dismissed, the people will not agree and more demonstrations will break out. In such cases, social unrest will remain protracted and achievements in economic reform will be completely

destroyed. Is there a third possibility? Obviously a satisfactory solution is impossible. The troops that surrounded Beijing could not move into the city not because of the civilians' efforts to stop them; waiting for further orders without retreating further seems to be biding their time.

**Writers Want Li Speech Withdrawn**  
HK2505064589 Hong Kong *WEN WEI PO* in Chinese  
25 May 89 p 2

[“Special Dispatch” from Shanghai by WEN WEI PO reporter: “Ba Jin, Xu Zhongyu, Other Writers Call for Withdrawing Li Peng’s Speech”]

[Text] Shanghai, 22 May—An emergency letter of appeal signed by Shanghai writers including noted writer Ba Jin pointed out: China is now at a critical period and no turmoil or historical retrogression should occur at this moment.

The letter of appeal said: “We hold that Comrade Li Peng’s speech delivered on 19 May should be withdrawn as it has already produced grave consequences. Viewed historically, those who use armed force to suppress student movements will come to no good end.

“We appeal to the officers and men of the Armed Forces carrying out martial law in Beijing to remember that you are facing patriotic students, patriotic workers, and ordinary inhabitants who have loved and trusted you. Can you open fire against them? Can you allow the military banner to be stained with shame and spots that can never be washed away? You should never do so under any circumstances!

“We appeal to the students at the Tiananmen Square to continue to keep calm at this critical moment.” You have won the admiration of the people for your patriotic enthusiasm and courage. You have added an illustrious chapter to reform and opening up of the government and the people. The people are grateful to you. We also hope that you will adopt a reasonable and realistic attitude and avoid unnecessary sacrifices. There is ample time for you in the future!

“We appeal to the National People’s Congress to immediately hold an emergency meeting of its standing committee to make a historical choice in light of popular will!”

**Zhao Ziyang Comments on May 4th Movement**  
OW2405052489 Beijing *BEIJING REVIEW*  
in English 15-21 May 89 p 5-6

[Text] The leader of the Communist Party of China (CPC) called on the entire nation to firmly oppose social unrest and maintain stability and unity, which he says is essential to reform and modernization.

Addressing youth at a May 3 meeting to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, asked the Chinese people to appreciate the hard-won stable situation that has been in place since the Communist Party's Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee in 1978.

"We have lived 10 good years since then," Zhao said. But if social unrest returns with large-scale social conflict and disruption of production, study and work, a country of promise will be turned into a country of hopelessness and turbulence, he added.

Zhao's speech came in the midst of two weeks of campus unrest in Beijing, which culminated on April 27 in a massive student demonstration that demanded democracy, freedom of the press and the elimination of corruption following an 11-day boycott of classes at many universities and colleges.

"When we have stability we sometime aren't aware of its value," Zhao told more than 3,000 young people, including university students, who attended the meeting held at the Great Hall of the People, "But once we lose it we feel deep regret."

Recalling modern Chinese history since 1840 when China was first defeated by the Western powers in the Opium War, the party leader asked: "Haven't we had enough of social turmoil?" Since that time China has had only about 20 years of stability.

Zhao said stability does not mean the elimination of democracy, but democracy should be channeled into order and legality.

The May 4th Movement of 1919 was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal; it was a new cultural movement that strongly urged that democracy and science be introduced to traditional China.

Zhao said the party has made "great historical contributions" to the Chinese people since it was founded 68 years ago. It has made some errors, but history has proved and will continue to prove that the party is vigorous and full of the spirit of self-criticism.

Zhao said China's construction and reform, as well as its democratic and scientific progress, cannot be separated from the leadership of the party.

In commemorating the May 4th Movement, he added, the party and the people place high hopes on the younger generation. He hoped that young people will bring into full play their pioneering and industrious spirit.

He said efforts should be made to encourage young people to demonstrate their potential, to appreciate their own value, and to develop their character.

The meeting was also attended by some veterans who took part in the May 4th Movement 70 years ago.

At the meeting, 70 young people were commended by the Communist Youth League Central Committee and the All-China Youth Federation for their outstanding contributions to socialist construction and reform.

Different activities over the past few days were held throughout China to mark the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement.

In Beijing, about 200,000 young people gathered on May 4 young people gathered on May 4 in major parks to celebrate the occasion. The entertainment included martial music, flower festivals and dancing.

At Beijing University, birth-place of the movement, 1,000 intellectuals of all ages gathered to celebrate the anniversary. They expressed a wish to carry forward the spirit of the movement and repay the motherland with their service.

In front of the Monument to the People's Heroes in Tiananmen Square, 10,000 young people took the oath at the ceremony admitting them to membership in the Communist Youth League.

In Shanghai a grand meeting was held on May 3 to celebrate the anniversary and 251 young people were awarded the Shanghai May 4th Medals for their outstanding contributions.

Colleges and universities there jointly organized a campus cultural and art festival for the occasion.

#### Article Discusses Media Supervision HK1805124589 Shanghai SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO in Chinese 24 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by Xian Xinbo (6929 6580 3134): "Media Supervision Is the Duty Of, Not a Favor Granted to the Media"]

[Text] People in media circles often say: "Telling the truth is the lifeblood of the media." However, very often, phenomenon of refusing to tell the truth for certain political purpose has occurred. Relations between the media and politics is closer than those between literature and politics. However, it does not mean that the media is equal to politics, and that the media is the accessory of politics.

Media supervision has become a popular topic for discussion in the past 2 years. People in media circles have regarded this as an important part of media reform. Very often, the party and government leaders deliver speeches, stressing that they welcome media supervision. It seems that the leadership and the rank and file favor media supervision. However, we have encountered

numerous difficulties in exercising media supervision. Up to the now, we have talked more about media supervision than doing actual work to exercise the control.

There are many factors contributing to the difficulties in exercising media supervision. For example, we should have a media environment of opening up, change the traditional idea of regarding mass media as a tool for propaganda, and change the system governing government or party newspapers which has widely existed, and so on. As far as the existing state of affairs and quality of media circles themselves are concerned, there is something in them which does not conform with the requirement of media supervision.

After the founding of the People's Republic, our mistake in the guiding principle for media undertaking lay in the fact that we onesidedly regarded the media as the mouthpiece of the party and government and that we failed to assign media supervision a proper position. As a result, in Chinese media circles some people had a strong idea of being the "mouthpiece" of the party and government, but their consciousness of the importance of "media supervision" was very weak. More than 2 years ago, they did not dare to openly and explicitly talk about media supervision. Instead, they talked about carrying out criticisms and self-criticisms. They took lightly the idea prevailing in Western countries which regard media supervision as the fourth force in the society. They insisted that this was a bourgeois media view. They maintained that running the proletarian media undertaking well, they must act on the orders of the leadership and become a tool for propaganda. During a certain period of time, it was particularly stressed that mass media must become a "docile tool" and "follow the first party secretary." This situation of excessive obedience and submission was criticized by Liu Shaoqi in 1961. He said that if party organs could not think for themselves and that if they could not become a mouthpiece which had plenty of brains, they could only become a lifeless megaphone.

After experiencing the "Great Cultural Revolution," people in media circles drew a lesson from their bitter experience, and proposed topics for discussion for the newspapers such as party spirit and people character [ren min xing 0086 3046 1840] in an attempt to discuss what a newspaper must do when the party leadership made mistakes, or obviously violated the people. At that time, there were two viewpoints among people in media circles. Some people maintained that when the party made mistakes, newspapers could do nothing about it. They could only follow the mistakes. Some other people believed that our newspapers must not do anything they knew was wrong and that they had to do something to correct it. The assignment of these topics for discussion was a matter of theoretical and practical significance to socialist media undertaking. If we profoundly discussed these topics, it would be very useful for us. However, the discussion was suspended because of the interference of

certain leaders. Sighing with feeling, some people said: it seems that newspapers can only follow in the footsteps of the leadership and inherently become a faction which "trims its sails."

Not long ago, a veteran comrade, who was engaged in both journalistic and literary work, said: "Both literature and media are component parts of the superstructure and ideology. Over the past 10 years or so, literature has luckily freed itself from political control. But this is not the case with the media. In the past, reporters were regarded as professionals. But they have now become persons who do not enjoy any freedom in their work. When we discuss the issue of how literature and journalistic workers understand their missions, and examine their ideological state of affairs, we find out that thanks to the efforts made over the past 10 years by literature workers to unwaveringly seek their ideological freedom, and freedom for creative work, today they have won such freedom to a fairly great extent. Journalists have lagged far behind in this regard.

Relations between media and politics are indeed closer than those between literature and politics. However, this does not mean that the media is equal to politics and that the media is the accessory of politics. Journalism is an independent science. Of course, this has caused many problems. However, it should be clearly pointed out that as far as our media workers are concerned, they still lack the undaunted spirit for seeking ideological emancipation. They still lack the drive to dash ahead and strive for media freedom regardless of their safety. They even lack the courage to do so. To date there are still many media workers who fail to shout for, or are not accustomed to shouting for the brilliant matter of media freedom. Reviewing the history of the past 10 years, we still remember that our media circles once encouraged people in various quarters in the society to strive for ideological emancipation. However, there is one thing which calls for deep thought, that is, our media circles are still hedged in with rules and regulations. People in media circles often say: "Telling the truth is the lifeblood of the media." However, phenomenon of sacrificing the truth has, very often, occurred for certain political purpose. Recently, a number of provincial city leaders have issued statements, stating that they welcome mass media supervision. This is, of course, a good thing. However, if leaders do not issue statements on welcoming and supporting media supervision, does this mean that media supervision must be abandoned?

Media supervision is the duty of, but not a favor granted by leaders to the media.

After seizing state power, the status of the Communist Party has changed. It has become a ruling party which holds power in its hands. The party will inevitably become corrupted and degenerate if the power of the party is not restricted or no supervision is exercised over it. This concerns the life and death of the party or the success and failure of the socialist cause. This has

urgently demanded that we establish various kinds of supervisory mechanisms. Media supervision is a most constant, open, and extensive form of supervision. To our regret, we have always stressed the mouthpiece role of the mass media over the past 30 years or so. We have actually abolished the function of mass media in exercising supervision.

According to a sample survey made by the Mass Media Research Institute under the Chinese People's University, 87.7 percent of the interviewees is "dissatisfied," or "very dissatisfied" with the leadership system and method for the press work. However, they restrain themselves, and are accustomed to "going about things according to orders." Many reporters and editors complain that they, very often, have dual personality. What they write and what they actually imagine are two different things. They feel vexed about this. At present, a fairly great number of people in the press circles put "fearing" above everything else. Political campaigns of the past several decades have dampened the fighting will of reporters. They have always considered the political consequences when writing articles.

Various kinds of political and vocational demands have been set on reporters since the founding of the People's Republic. But the issue that reporters must have sense of justice and sense of social responsibility has not been sufficiently stressed. This precisely involves the qualities and characters which a reporter must have. Otherwise, it is difficult for us to expect that he will stand up and expose social injustice and corrupted phenomenon.

What is more distressing is that our journalist contingent has also been contaminated with unhealthy trends. When a journalist worker behaves unworthily, how can he help others overcome unhealthy trends? If our journalist contingent itself fails to refuse to be contaminated by evil influence, it is difficult for it to shoulder the task of media supervision.

#### **Linking of Authority, Freedom Questioned**

HK2205134389 Shanghai SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO in Chinese 1 May 89 p 14

[Article by Wu Xianqing (0702 7359 1987): "Can 'Authority' Be an Ally of Freedom"]

[Text] Neo-authoritarianism sets much store by the role played by freedom, believes that freedom is the prerequisite for the realization of modernization, holds that China should take the road of "integrating autocracy with freedom," "economically implementing the free-enterprise system," and "politically implementing totalitarianism." Neo-authoritarianism also believes that it is possible to "use authority to remove the obstacles to the development of individual freedoms and protect individual freedoms." (Please refer to Wu Jiaxiang's article published on Page 12 of "SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO" on

16 January of 1989) Under the current conditions of China, can autocratic authority and totalitarian politics promote the development of freedom? My answer to this question is negative.

First, the totalitarian system hinders the dualization between politics and economy. Now many people have come to realize that our country's current public ownership system is the root cause for the situation that enterprises are under the control of the government and the economy hinges on the politics. Totalitarian politics cannot help to bring about free enterprises and economic autonomy. China is a huge country. Therefore, it is impossible for a "political strong man," who arrogates all state powers to himself, alone to govern such a big country as China. In this context, totalitarian politics has to be accompanied by a bureaucratic system formed by a large contingent while small groups at middle and low levels have to affiliate themselves to big groups at high level. Such bureaucratic politics fundamentally contradicts the goal of dualizing politics and economy. As the representative and manager of the state-owned assets, such a bureaucratic system will, out of its own interests, instinctively safeguard the existing form of public ownership system. To change the existing form of public ownership system will doubtlessly clash with the interests of the bureaucratic system. Therefore, it is hardly possible to change China's current situation of economy hinging on politics by virtue of totalitarian politics. The results of the state refraining from delegating full decisionmaking power to the enterprises has already given us some enlightenment in this respect. Some of our comrades might say that the purpose of practising totalitarian politics is to enable the "political strong man," who arrogates all powers to himself, to use his strong power to push ahead with dualization between politics and economy. Nevertheless, both the historical facts and our own rational reflections tell us that the "political strong man" can do nothing without the support of the above mentioned bureaucratic system. When his propositions conform with or at least do not seriously harm the interests of the above mentioned bureaucratic system, the "political strong man" can receive support and respect from the above mentioned bureaucratic system and can have all his orders carried out to the letter. However, once his policies are in serious conflict with the interests of the above mentioned bureaucratic system, the people within the bureaucratic system will doubtlessly remove their present Buddha from their temple and install a new Buddha in their temple. There are numerous precedents in this respect. So it is obviously impossible for us to push ahead with the reform of China's current ownership system and realize economic autonomy in China by virtue of totalitarian politics.

Second, autocratic authority can only become shackles on freedom and can never become the patron saint of freedom. Totalitarian politics is based on the subordination of lower levels to higher levels at the expense of democracy. Such subordination, except for the highest level, has the following two characteristics: 1) Fully

obeying the orders issued by higher levels; 2) Demanding all lower levels to fully obey the orders issued by higher levels. Thus when such level-to-level subordination reaches the grassroots level, namely, the broad masses of the people, the people at the grassroots levels are only duty-bound to obey the orders issued by higher levels and have no democratic rights. The autocratic authority demands individuals to obey both the orders they can understand and the orders they cannot understand, obey both the correct orders and the incorrect orders, and carry out all the orders to the letter. "Since obeying orders and causing casualties is not guilty, but disobeying orders and doing things beneficial to the country is guilty, all lower levels will just wait for the orders issued by higher levels, follow the orders issued by higher levels, and imitate the methods used by higher levels." (Please refer to "GUAN ZI, REN FA No 45") This is perhaps the most typical manifestation of the relationship between lower levels and higher levels and between the governor and the governed under a totalitarian system. In such a political environment, how can the broad masses of the people and the low-level members of the ruling clique have freedom?

Third, without the guarantee of a certain democratic system, it is impossible to realize rule by law in the modern sense. Under the rule of a "political strong man," who arrogates all state powers to himself, there is only rule by man, which is entirely based on individual talents and emotions. Under the rule by man, especially when the economy and the politics are still integrated, the fate of an individual is, to a large extent, determined by his governor. If an individual is not careful enough with his words and deeds, he might encounter life-long misfortune. Therefore, under the rule by man, people have no other choice but have to absolutely obey the orders issued by higher levels. It can well be said that the protection offered to freedom by a totalitarian regime is just like the protection offered to a small bird by a birdcage.

Fourth, history shows that most of the rights and freedoms presently enjoyed by the people living in the countries and regions, which once experienced the rule by a totalitarian regime, were not bestowed by the autocratic regimes that once existed in those countries and regions, but were won by the people of those countries and regions themselves through their long-term political and economic struggles. In 1628, the British Parliament presented the "Petition on Rights" to the British monarchy. In order to defraud the British Parliament of its appropriations, Charles I accepted the petition. However, later on, Charles I abrogated the petition and persecuted the leading petitioners to death. It was not until the broad masses of the British people finally won the victory of the "Glorious Revolution" through their long-term heroic struggles that an agreement on the "Act of Rights" was eventually signed between the British Parliament and the British Monarchy.

#### JIEFANGJUN BAO on Patriotic Spirit

HK1805133189 Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO  
in Chinese 4 May 89 p 3

[By Lei Meitian (7191 5019 3955) and Wu Guangren (0702 0342 0088): "Carry Forward the 4 May Patriotic Spirit"]

[Text] Seventy years ago, the great May 4th Movement of opposing imperialism and feudalism was launched on the ancient land of China. The May 4th Movement raised the curtain on the new democratic revolution in China, which was a brilliant chapter in modern Chinese history, with its strong patriotic spirit and its uncompromising struggle against imperialism and feudalism. Today, There is no doubt that we must carry forward such patriotic spirit, and regard the four modernizations and reform as our own task to push forward as we commemorate the May 4th Movement.

Patriotism is a "profound feeling for one's motherland developed over the past several thousand years." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 608) Patriotism is reflected in one's love for the mountains and rivers, history, culture, spoken and written language, and folk custom of one's motherland, and in one's hatred for alien invading forces. Patriotism demonstrates relations between individuals and the motherland. It closely links the fate of individuals with that of the motherland and produces strong influence over the thinking and conduct of the people. Various impassioned and stirring plays were staged in the historical stages of various countries and nations. These plays became a brilliant and great banner in the history of the civilization of mankind. Patriotism is also a historical concept. It has different contents in different countries and different periods of development. We say that patriotism during the May 4th period was mainly reflected in the struggle of opposing imperialism and rescuing the Chinese nation. Today our patriotism must focus on our love for socialist modernization, on our support for reform and opening up, and our struggle and devotion for the invigoration of the Chinese nation. Thanks to the arduous struggles of our country and people over the past several decades, the history that our country was bullied and humiliated by imperialism had come to an end. We have also made magnificent achievements in our socialist construction, which have become the focus of world attention. Our people have begun to have enough to eat and to wear in their daily life. However, there is a grim reality which must not be overlooked. The level of development of productive forces in our country is still very backward. Of the more than 100 countries in the world, our per capita GNP is among the worst. In those years, Comrade Mao Zedong reminded us of the danger that China might be deprived of its "share in the world." The warning has remained valid to date. The old China left a broken-down stall for us, specifically, we were comparatively weak economically. In addition, We failed to achieve the desired results in our economic, political and cultural construction after the founding of the People's Republic.

Apart from the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the gang of four, all this should be attributed to various shortcomings and defects in our economic and political systems, which blocked the development of our social productive forces. Under such circumstances, we should reform those economic and political systems which do not conform with the development of the productive forces in the initial stage of socialism and establish production relations and superstructure which comply with the development of productive forces in an attempt to promote the rapid development of the social productive forces. We must also realize the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology. This has become a matter of primary importance which concerns the life and death of the Chinese nation, the most important and urgent task facing the Chinese people today, and the main theme of patriotism nowadays. Of course, under socialist conditions, the content of patriotism is all-embracing, which covers the protection for the territory, territorial sea and sky, and natural resources of a socialist state power, and its national interests, diplomatic power and interests, state security, political system, social order, and so on. Socialist patriotism is also reflected in the love for the reform and modernization of the motherland, and hard work and creative spirit in reform and the four modernizations. There is no doubt that all these are the most fundamental content of socialist patriotism, and the most concentrated expression of patriotism in the present stage.

Patriotism, as a powerful spiritual force, once played a great role in history of encouraging the Chinese nation to resist the foreign aggressors and to rescue the motherland in peril. Today, it is also a powerful spiritual force which promotes reform and modernization in our country.

1. Patriotism is a rallying force. Rallying force is a prerequisite for the existence of any matter. This is also the case with a country. If patriotism is not regarded by the people of a country as an important spiritual pillar, it is impossible for the country to become powerful whether it is strong or weak, and big or small. During World War II, France had a fairly solid national strength. But it faced the tragedy of being rapidly defeated. This was closely connected with the fact that before the war, patriotic education for its nationals was insufficient. China encountered domestic trouble and foreign invasion following the Opium War in our country. Many people with lofty ideals carried out an extremely brave struggle against foreign invaders. A modern Chinese history was also a modern Chinese patriotic history. Due to the decadence of the social system and the corruption of the rulers, the entire country was lax in discipline, and its national strength was weak. Therefore, our nation was humiliated and our sovereignty forfeited, and our people were bullied. Socialist patriotic ideas were injected into the minds of the people of the whole nation after the founding of New China under the leadership of the CPC. The Chinese people demonstrated their unprecedented rallying power in front of the aggressors, and won one

victory after another in the war of resisting the United States and supporting Korea, in the self-defense counterattack along the Sino-Indian border, in the self-defense counterattack on the Zhenbao island, in the self-defense counterattack on the Xisha [Spratly] islands, and in the self-defense counterattack at the Sino-Vietnamese border, and so on. All this changed the image of China of being a "sick man in East Asia," and a "sheet of loose sand." The Chinese people demonstrated their lofty socialist patriotic spirit. In reform and construction, they have also shown their strong rallying power. People on all fronts throughout the country are struggling hard and working with a will to make their country strong. They persist in reform and opening up, and have won a great victory in reform and opening up. Facts have proven that patriotism is also a great banner for calling together and uniting with the people in the period of socialist construction.

2. Patriotism is a force for forging ahead. The history and practical reality of a backward economy in our country has determined that socialist China must focus its efforts on economic construction. The 13th CPC National Congress further summed up our experience in modernization and explicitly pointed out that the basic task of socialism is to develop productive forces. It set the strategic aims for economic development to be fulfilled in "three steps." We need not only abundant material resources, correct line, guiding principle and policy, but also a patriotic spirit of "loving my Chinese nation," and "invigorating the Chinese nation" to attain such strategic aims. It is only when the people show concern for the prospects and fate of their motherland and have a strong patriotic spirit of forging ahead, can they consciously realize their responsibility in promoting the modernization of their motherland. Only thus will they become the masters of their own affairs, struggle hard and selflessly, keep in line with the trends of the new technical revolution of the world, give play to their creative spirit, strive to make progress in their science and technology, and make scientific inventions. Only thus will they be able to emancipate their minds, seek truth from facts, make bold explorations, go about things in accordance with the objective law governing the building of material civilization and spiritual civilization, and push forward reforms which are in progress. Actually, encouraged by the patriotic spirit of "loving my Chinese nation," and "invigorating the Chinese nation," numerous advanced figures are exploring the way forward, making bold explorations, blazing new trails continuously, and narrowing the gaps between our country and developed countries in the world. In some respect, we are among the best in the world.

3. Patriotism is a force of revolutionary heroism. Due to the fact that the interests of the state are closely linked with those of the nation, and that the rallying power of national feelings and the sense of honor can play a very encouraging role, the patriotic spirit of the people of defending and constructing their motherland is markedly reflected in the heroic spirit of fighting bravely and

working selflessly. The Chinese nation is a nation with traditional heroism. In modern history, Qi Jiguang resisted the aggression of the Japanese bandits. Zheng Chenggong recovered Taiwan and expelled colonialists. Lin Zexu banned opium at Humen. In the sea battle of 1894 to 1895, Deng Shichang defeated the aggressors. The Yihetung Movement bitterly attacked the aggressor troops. However, due to the limitations of the times, blind, feudal and individual characters existed to a certain extent. It was difficult to turn such heroism into a broad mass movement. Under socialist conditions, the leadership of the CPC and its advanced ideological and political work have greatly promoted heroism. Revolutionary heroism embodied in socialist patriotism is markedly different from heroism of the old times in terms of characters. First, revolutionary heroism is characterized by its lofty purpose. It is not prompted by the narrow interests of certain groups, or individual feelings. It is a common ideal based on common interests. It is a kind of duty and devotion of a country and people for constructing and defending the motherland, and safeguarding peace in a region or the world. Second, revolutionary heroism is characterized by its broad base. It is because it does not represent the interests of a certain individual or group, but represents the interests of the broad masses of people and the state, it can attract the masses, and become revolutionary heroism involving the broad masses of people. Third, revolutionary heroism is characterized by its collective character. Socialist patriotism as a part of the proletarian world outlook and ideological system focuses its attention on the development of productive forces and social progress. Therefore, it is completely different from the old brave act of individuals. Socialist patriotism is a force for transforming the world and the society. Fourth, revolutionary heroism is characterized by its intense consciousness. Due to the fact that revolutionary patriotism embodied in socialist patriotism is characterized by its lofty aims, broad mass character, and marked collective character, it fully shows its spirit of intense consciousness in the battle and construction. "Fearing neither hardship nor death," going through fire and water, and never hesitating to make sacrifices has become the "soul of our nation" and the "soul of our army." Since the founding of New China, in the war of resisting the United States and supporting Korea which lasted 3 years, and the counterattack in self-defense at Sino-Vietnamese border, and so on, numerous heroes and outstanding fighters of the Huang Jiguang, Yang Gensi and Qiu Shaoyun's type came to the fore. In reform and socialist construction, a great number of heroes and model workers have occurred on all fronts who are working devotedly and industriously, and making outstanding contributions to the invigoration, construction and reform of the motherland. This has fully demonstrated the strength of revolutionary heroism embodied in patriotism.

At present, reform and construction in our country have entered a critical stage. Reform has speeded up the progress of the state. It is also facing a series of new difficulties and problems such as overheated economic

development, excessive scale of capital construction, inflation of consumption funds, drastic price increase, and so on. The party Central Committee and the State Council have proposed a guiding principle and arrangement aimed at improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order to deal with these difficulties and problems. Under such circumstances, every resident must further give play to the spirit of socialist patriotism, understand the difficulties of the state, resolutely implement the party's policy of improvement, rectification, and reform, and continuously overcome difficulties arising on the path of advancement. Our army is an important component part of our socialist state power. It is also an army of the people, which is shouldering an important task of defending and constructing the motherland. We must take the interests of the whole into account, firmly develop the idea that partial interests should be subjected to overall interests, firmly keep in line with the party Central Committee politically, and actively support the implementation of the party's policy of improvement, rectification, and deepening the reform. In the meantime, we should meticulously promote the reform and construction of the army itself step by step. We should work with one heart and one mind, and actively make progress to push the revolutionization, modernization and regularization of our army to a new level. This is an important content for carrying forward the spirit of patriotism in the current stage. It is also the best way for commemorating the May 4th Movement today.

**Initial Results Achieved in State Council Reform**  
*OW2005201189 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service  
in Chinese 1218 GMT 14 May 89*

[By reporter Fei Qiang: "Local Broadcast News Service"]

[Text] Nanjing, 14 May (XINHUA)—According to a national personnel conference, which ended yesterday, a plan for the structural reform of the State Council has achieved initial results in the following four aspects since its implementation more than 4 months ago:

The functions of government organizations have noticeably changed. In the structural reform, considerable adjustments have been made in defining functions for various departments of the State Council. This has encouraged those departments to move from microeconomic management toward macroeconomic management, from direct management toward indirect management, and from departmental management toward industrial management in exercising their functions.

Big, difficult, and longstanding problems resulting from overlapping functions and disputes among various departments have been solved. In the structural reform, various departments have defined their functions by making analyses in this regard. According to preliminary statistics, problems involving overlapping functions in

more than 40 fields have been solved. This has laid a solid foundation for reducing disputes, improving work efficiency, and setting up scientific administration.

In accordance with the requirements for the change of administrative functions, organizational readjustments have been made, and the number of personnel reduced. In its structural reform, the State Council has abolished a number of specialized economic departments, set up several comprehensive industrial management departments, and disbanded most specialized bureaus and departments. Despite the change of administrative functions, supervision is strengthened. Some new personnel are added to some departments through readjustment. However, the stipulated number of personnel for the State Council following its structural reform is 5,000 less than before, and its actual number of personnel is nearly 10,000 less than before.

A foundation has been laid for instituting a system of public servants by seeking ways to carry out structural reform and change administrative functions.

A responsible person of the Ministry of Personnel pointed out: The structural reform of the State Council is still in a transitional period because things need to be coordinated among various departments. Implementation of the plan for structural reform in various departments is to be inspected or checked and accepted, and new functions and new organizations are to be improved. The structural reform of the State Council still needs to deepen further this year.

**Wu Xueqian Meets Returned Overseas Chinese**  
OW2005225689 Beijing International Service  
in Mandarin 0900 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Zhang Guoji, president of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese, announced at the just-ended fifth plenary session of the committee of the third All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese, that the fourth Congress of Returned Overseas Chinese will be held in Beijing from 28 June to 2 July.

From 11 to 13 May, members of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese committee from all places gathered in Beijing to discuss the work report of the committee of the third All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese which will be submitted to the fourth Congress of Returned Overseas Chinese for examination, the charter of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese, and the method of electing members of the fourth committee. The meeting also unanimously confirmed the decision of the sixth meeting of the Standing Committee of the third All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese committee on the election of Zhuang Yenlin as additional committee member, Standing Committee member, and vice president of the fifth [as heard] All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese.

On the afternoon of 13 May, Wu Xueqian, Ye Fei, and Liao Hui met with all members of the committee of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese.

**Journal Discusses Value of Public Opinion**

HK2405064389 Shanghai SHIJI JINGJI  
DAOBAO in Chinese 8 May 89 p 4

[Article by staff reporter in Beijing: "The Government Should Be Constrained by Public"]

[Text] The always happy Mr Wu Zuguang was in a bad mood recently. The dramatist has been driven into deep thought by the recent events of the signature drive and the students taking to the streets.

He feels that at present, the government and intellectuals are in a situation of decreasing trust in each other. First, the government does not trust the intellectuals. The Chinese intellectuals hope to have a good ruling party and a good government. However, when the people with these hopes are not trusted, problems arise.

Wu Zuguang stressed that his words and actions are for the country. He acted according to his conscience and enthusiasm as an intellectual.

Talking about the problem of what responsibility the intellectuals can shoulder on the 70th anniversary of the "May 4th" Movement, Wu Zuguang said that in years gone by, even during his most difficult times, he still felt that there was hope for our country but that recently he was more puzzled. The "May 4th" Movement advocated science and democracy and opposed feudalism. Seventy years have passed and we still have to advocate science and democracy. Although feudalism has not been as barbaric as it was before, its strength seems more powerful now.

He repeated his opinions voiced at the 2d Session of the 7th National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference [CPPCC]: The feudal traditional thought and sense, with a background of several thousand years, have extraordinary vitality and assimilating strength, and cannot be eradicated even in the new socialist China because they have deep and firm roots. The trend has become even more serious. The long period of feudalism and despotism led Mao Zedong to continually make serious mistakes in the latter phase of his political career. For this, he himself should shoulder the main responsibility. However, there were people who blindly flattered Mao Zedong, lavishly praised him, and shouted "long live" to him. Should they not also be responsible? Can a Chinese living in the 20th century feel no shame at this ignorance and backwardness?

Wu Zuguang summarized his viewpoint and said that there had been frequent movements since the founding of the state. After the "Cultural Revolution" the central authorities re-established order with great difficulty. It

was according to the situation in China, and in consideration of the stubborn existence of feudal thought and sense, that we have to study and draw lessons from Western democratic systems.

He thought that we should not be too sensitive about the word "Western." And who has said that we must be "completely Westernized?" The founders of Marxism and Leninism were Westerners. Did not the pictures of Marx, Engels, and Lenin that hung in Tiananmen Square during the festivals represent figures from the West?

The despotism and totalitarianism of one party and one person, and the numerous wounds experienced by our country, according to Wu Zuguang resulted from lack of democracy. The authorities were not constrained by public opinion. He therefore called on the central leaders to consider allowing the publication of newspapers and journals by the people, to enable leaders at various level in the country to listen to public opinion. This will cause illegal elements misgivings and is absolutely helpful to the country's politics.

After talking about his ideas Wu Zuguang frankly admitted that the proposal he put forward at the CPPCC meeting advocating publication of newspapers and journals by the people would possibly have no practical function in bringing about the liberation of public opinion. But he changed his tone and said affectionately: If there is no voice in our country and if there is a voiceless China, then it really matters!

**RENMIN RIBAO Cited on Ethical Awakening**  
*OW2405154489 Beijing Television Service  
in Mandarin 0315 GMT 24 May 89*

[Announcer-read report on RENMIN RIBAO signed article: "Beijing's Residents Today Have Become Awakened to Social Ethics"]

[Text] RENMIN RIBAO today carries in its special column Society Wide Angle a signed article entitled Beijing's Residents Today Have Become Awakened to Social Ethics.

The article cites a host of facts to show that Beijing's residents have again become aware of social ethics. The past indifferent attitude toward other people seems to have disappeared among Beijing's residents.

The article points out that most Beijing residents, be they state-run store salesclerks, owners of private businesses, vigorous youths, or grey-haired ladies, have all become more sociable with others than ever before.

The article says in conclusion that Beijing residents have been baptized in their suffering.

**Deng's Son Present at Competition for Handicapped**

*HK2005070089 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service  
in Mandarin 1130 GMT 19 MA7*

[Text] The First National Competition of the Occupational Skills of the Handicapped, which lasted 5 days, ended this morning in the Hongshan Auditorium in Wuchang. About 400 contestants from 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country participated in the intense competition. A Liaoning team won the team title. The No 1 Hubei team came second, the Yunnan team came third. Of the 14 champions of the individual events, (Qi Baoshan), a 22-year-old handicapped peasant from (Chenghe) Township in Xiangyang County in our province, was the champion for producing whips. (Wu Ailing), a worker in (Jinhua) Textile Plant in Yichang, was the champion for knitting wool.

Deng Pufang, director-in-chief of China Welfare Fund for Handicapped, leading comrades of the provincial party committee, provincial Advisory Commission, provincial government, and provincial Military District Zhao Fulin, (Fang Xicheng), Han Nanpeng, (Wang Yi), and Vice Mayor of Wuhan City (Gao Shunling), and so on, attended the closing ceremony and were seated at the rostrum.

The closing ceremony was presided over by provincial Vice Governor Han Nanpeng. The chief referee announced the names of the winners of medals and certificates of merit. Leading comrades attending the closing ceremony presented the awards to individual winners and the representatives from the first three places in the team competition.

Deng Pufang, vice chairman of the Organizational Committee for the Competition and director-In-Chief of China Welfare Fund for Handicapped, delivered a closing speech. He said: In the competition, handicapped contestants fully displayed their vocational skills and have made very good achievements. On behalf of the Organizational Committee of the competition, he extended his congratulations to all handicapped contestants and his cordial greetings to them. He continued: In the coming years, we will vigorously promote labor employment for the handicapped. We will provide the handicapped with vocational training through various channels, in various forms and at different layers. He believed that with the concerted efforts exerted by the state, society, and the handicapped, a new situation will certainly be created in the vocational training for the handicapped and labor employment of the handicapped in China. The current competition has played a positive and promoting role in the creation of the situation.

Vice Mayor (Gao Shunling) also spoke at the closing ceremony.

### East Region

#### **Shandong Committees Support Central Measures** SK2505032389 *Jinan Shandong Provincial Service* in Mandarin 2200 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Party committees and governments of some cities and prefectures in the province have convened meetings to study the speeches by Li Peng and Yang Shangkun, expressing their resolute support of the measures taken by the party Central Committee and the State Council to stabilize the situation in the nation's capital.

On the morning of 20 May, the Weifang City party committee held a meeting of cadres at or above the section level of the organs directly under the city authorities. The meeting demanded: All party and government organs, as well as all enterprises and institutions, should maintain good order in work, production, teaching, and daily life; should respond to the call of the party Central Committee and the State Council with practical actions; should maintain unanimity with the party Central Committee; and should conscientiously execute policies to protect the patriotic enthusiasm of the vast number of students and orient their patriotic feeling toward a correct path.

On the morning of 23 May, the Huimin prefectoral party committee held a meeting of party member leading cadres at the county level. The meeting demanded that all party members in the prefecture should notify the directives of the party Central Committee and the provincial party committee about all their actions, and should not hear, believe, or spread rumors existing in society. At the same time, they should address the work concerning cadres, the masses, and the vast number of students, and should not do anything unfavorable to stability and unity.

The Zaozhuang City party committee, the Jining City party committee, and the Dezhou prefectoral party committee also pledged to support the measures taken by the party Central Committee and the State Council to stabilize the situation in the nation's capital.

#### **Shanghai Garrison Units Study Li, Yang Speeches** OW2405113289 *Shanghai City Service* in Mandarin 2300 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] After watching a televised Beijing cadre conference of party, government, and military organs held by the party Central Committee and the State Council, party committees at all levels of the Shanghai Garrison District seriously studied the important speeches by Comrades Li Peng and Yang Shangkun; resolutely supported the decisive measures taken by the party Central Committee and the State Council to end the turmoil and stabilize the situation; analyzed the real situation in Shanghai and in their own units; unified their own thinking; and made arrangements for more study.

The party committee of the garrison district has called on its subordinate units to repeatedly study the important speeches by Comrades Li Peng and Yang Shangkun; deepen their understanding of the guidelines of the directives of the party Central Committee, the State Council, and the Central Military Commission; maintain a high degree of stability and unity in the units; politically keep in line with the party Central Committee; and make contributions in maintaining a situation of political stability and unity.

#### **Shanghai Workers Urged To Promote Stability** OW2505085489 *Shanghai City Service* in Mandarin 1200 GMT 23 May 89

[From the "News" program]

[Text] Speaking at a conference of trade union cadres on the afternoon of 23 May, (Jiang Lu), chairman of the Shanghai Trade Union Council, urged trade unions at all levels to mobilize and organize workers in Shanghai to work hard to stabilize the situation in Shanghai. He said that this is the common aspiration of all workers in Shanghai, and in it lie their fundamental interests.

(Jiang Lu) pointed out that under the current difficult situation, all trade union cadres must work among workers on the production front, and they must work in coordination with the administrative departments in organizing production.

He stressed: No matter how great the difficulties we may encounter, Shanghai's public service workers and workers in the industrial, transportation, financial, and trade sectors must do all they can to ensure the supply of coal, electricity, water, and daily necessities.

(Jiang Lu) said: All trade union cadres must trust the party, trust the masses, and trust the people's government. They should take the interest of the whole into account, represent and safeguard the interests of workers, continue to actively reflect the workers' views and requests, and continue to actively promote all forms of dialogues between the workers and the government at all levels and through all channels. They should also play an active part in punishing government profiteers, eradicating corruption, controlling inflation, and promoting reform and democratic construction.

#### **Zhejiang's Li Zemin Outlines Stabilization Tasks** OW2305152589 *Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service* in Mandarin 0900 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] On the evening of 20 May, the provincial party committee held a conference of leading cadres from provincial and Hangzhou City organs. On behalf of the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee, Comrade Li Zemin, secretary of the provincial party committee, made a five-point proposal on studying and

discussing the guidelines of speeches by Li Peng and Yang Shangkun and on stabilizing the situation in Zhejiang according to the actual local situation.

First, in view of the development of the situation in Beijing, the party Central Committee and the State Council have adopted a correct policy and proper measures to end the turmoil and stabilize the situation. We resolutely support their policy and measures. Party organizations and units at all levels must seriously study and correctly and clearly understand the decision made by the central authorities. We must realize that the current situation in Beijing is very acute and has spread to many cities across the nation, and that our nation's reform, opening, modernization, and construction, as well as the future and fate of the People's Republic, are faced with a serious threat. The central authorities' policy and decision are aimed at stabilizing the general situation. They have differentiated the masses of students from the few people who have incited the turmoil, and have taken a clear-cut stand to oppose the turmoil. All this is out of their love for the young students. The central authorities have reiterated that they will persistently safeguard the young students' patriotic zeal; that they will not investigate the students for their radical words and acts during the student strike; and that they will never harm the good people. The imposition of martial law in several Beijing districts and the summoning of some Army units from other localities to Beijing are only contingency measures to assist the armed police units and public security cadres and policemen in maintaining and restoring public order in Beijing, and are by no means directed at the students. We must propagate and explain this point to the students and masses in order to rid them of various sorts of apprehension and misunderstanding.

Second, the most urgent and important task at the moment is to stabilize the general situation. The emphasis will be put on conducting good work among the college students. Without campus stability, nothing will succeed. The policy of direct persuasion adopted by the provincial party committee some time ago to stabilize the situation, resolve contradictions, avoid conflicts, and maintain public order was correct. Leaders of the province and Hangzhou City held dialogues talked with the students, and visited them in the hospitals. The schools' party and administrative leaders, teachers, and cadres did a great deal of work in patient persuasion and guidance. The public security cadres and policemen maintained order and protected the students' safety around the clock. A vast number of medical workers gave prompt treatment and first aid to all sick students. All this is understood and welcomed by the students and society. We have done all this because the young students are our children as well as the future of the motherland. Their patriotic zeal is commendable. Their desire to advance democracy, punish corruption, and bring prosperity to the motherland coincides with the goals of our party and government. Therefore, in dealing with the students, we must continue to persist in the policy of persuasion to safeguard their patriotic zeal on

one hand, and on the other, help them see the complexity of things and understand that the realization of good wishes takes time and requires work, as well as a stable social environment. Currently, some of the college students in Hangzhou lack an all-around and correct understanding of the central authorities' policy. They have become excited, and the demonstrations are still going on. There have been radical and excessively improper speeches and acts, and the situation may possibly spread further. We are very concerned and worried. We hope that the students take the interests of the whole into account, maintain their calm, and will not listen to rumors. All those who are on strike should unconditionally return to school and resume their study. We call on leaders at all levels, the various democratic parties and mass organizations, teachers, cadres, and parents to show loving concern to the students, conduct patient and meticulous ideological work among them, and persuade them that there is no fundamental conflict of interest between the party and government and the students. We should also persuade them that there is no need for acts that intensify contradictions. With regard to those few students who have become sick or weak while on hunger strike or sit-ins, we must continuously give them good medical treatment. When they return to their campuses, the schools must show loving concern for them in an ideological way and improve their living conditions.

Third, it is necessary to stabilize government organs, enterprises, and the contingent of staff members and workers, and to maintain the normal order of production, work, and social life. All cadres, staff members, and workers of government organs, industrial plants, stores, and the communications, transportation, and public utility departments must observe discipline and stand fast at their posts, and should not take to the streets to demonstrate, support the student strike, or be onlookers. They should not do anything that harms stability and unity. They must ensure the normal operation of work and production, maintain the smooth operation of post and telecommunications services, and ensure market supplies as well as the supply of electricity and water. Party and government leaders of various units must organize staff members and workers to seriously study the important speeches by Comrades Li Peng and Yang Shangkun and conduct good ideological and education work. Members of the CPC and the Communist Youth League [CYL] must take the lead in making contributions to opposing and ending the turmoil and to stabilizing the situation. Students should not be allowed to visit the industrial plants to make contact with workers. To protect the safety of their students, middle and primary school leaders and teachers must have a keen sense of responsibility in regard to controlling their students, maintain their normal teaching and studying schedule, and ban their students from participating in or watching demonstrations.

Fourth, it is necessary to safeguard public order and maintain sharp vigilance against those few bad people who take the opportunity to make trouble and engage in

sabotage. It is particularly important to guard against those who hit, smash, loot, and burn. They should be severely punished according to the law as soon as they are caught. It is necessary to protect the vital leading organs, key departments, and railways, bridges, and other transportation facilities. In safeguarding public order, we must strive to prevent major incidents from happening on one hand, and be prepared to deal with any major disturbances on the other.

Fifth, while stabilizing the general situation, we must continue to do a good job in improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order, deepening the reform, continuing the work of building an honest government, striving to wipe out all forms of corruption, overcoming bureaucracy, and advancing democracy and law, thereby winning the people's trust with concrete deeds, which is in itself the fundamental way to stabilize the general situation.

#### **Zhejiang Radio Covers Protests, Appeals** OW2505015489

[Editorial Report] Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin at 0900 GMT on 18 May, in its "Provincial Hookup" program, carries a 3-minute report saying that some personnel of the radio station formed a comfort group to send drinks to the students who were staging a sit-in and the people's police who were keeping order on the scene. The report also reveals that in Ningbo, more than 2,000 college and middle school students demonstrated on 18 May and "some teachers and students staged a sit-in in front of party and government organizations." According to the report, similar demonstrations were also held by students, workers, and other people in Shaoxing, Linhai, Zhoushan, and Xiaoshan in support of the Beijing students' movement.

The same program also carries a 2-minute text of a letter of appeal, dated 18 May, from the Zhejiang Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference [CPPCC] to the CPPCC National Committee. The letter expresses concern over the current student movement and asked the CPPCC National Committee to exercise its influence on the party and government authorities so that the problem can be dealt with properly. The letter describes the student movement as a "patriotic movement" and requests that the CPPCC National Committee appeal to the principal leaders of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, urging them to meet the students in Tiananmen Square and conduct "a dialogue with the students on an equal basis."

Also broadcast in the same program is an emergency appeal, dated 18 May, from presidents of five universities in Zhejiang with regard to the current student movement. The five universities are Hangzhou University, Zhejiang University, Zhejiang Agricultural University, Zhejiang Medical University, and Zhejiang Art Institute. The appeal says that the hunger strike in Tiananmen Square

should not go on, and "we earnestly hope that the key responsible persons of the party and government will arrange to meet the students directly as soon as possible and conduct a sincere dialogue with them."

Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin at 0900 GMT on 19 May carries a 4-minute recorded report on Zhejiang and Hangzhou leaders visiting hospitalized students who had fallen ill during the hunger strike. The leaders were Li Zemin, secretary of the provincial CPC Committee; Lu Wenge, mayor of Hangzhou; and Wu Renyuan, secretary of the Hangzhou City CPC Committee. According to the report, they went to the hospital at noon on 19 May to console the students, and wished them a speedy recovery.

#### **Central-South Region**

#### **Hainan Party, Government Support Li Peng Speech** HK2305145789 Haikou Hainan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] The provincial party committee and the provincial government on 20 May issued a circular on conscientiously studying Comrade Li Peng's speech.

The circular said: The speech that Comrade Li Peng delivered at the 19 May meeting of Beijing party, government, and Army cadres on behalf of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee has pointed out that the situation in the capital is very serious and abnormal, and laws and discipline are being violated. The speech calls on all the party, all the Army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to take prompt action to stop turmoil and to restore order. The provincial party committee and the provincial government steadfastly support Comrade Li Peng's speech and the central authorities' decision, and will do their best to safeguard stability and unity, which are of prime importance. In this connection, the provincial party committee and the provincial government have made the following decision:

1. Party committees and governments at all levels throughout the province must try their best to organize study of Comrade Li Peng's important speech. First of all, leading bodies must, on their part, conscientiously study the speech. At the same time, they must organize the vast number of party members and cadres to conscientiously study, understand, and implement the guidelines laid down by the speech. Party organizations at all levels must unite with the broad masses and give full play to their role as cores of leadership and as fighting bastions, while trying their best to stabilize the situation. All CPC members must strictly observe discipline, stand fast at their posts, play an exemplary role in [words indistinct], and make concerted efforts to safeguard stability and unity. Governments at all

levels must enforce discipline and laws, make great efforts to strengthen leadership over their areas and units, [words indistinct], and step up reform and construction in all fields.

2. It is necessary to open dialogue in various forms, through various channels, and at various levels. Cadres at the provincial level and at the city and county level must go to rural areas, government organs, schools, and enterprises to publicize the achievements of reform and opening up, [word indistinct] so as to help the vast number of cadres and masses increase their confidence in reform and their understanding of the current situation. It is necessary to cherish the patriotic enthusiasm on the part of the vast number of young students. No action should be taken against young students who have aired radical views. It is necessary to give clear replies to reasonable demands raised by students and the masses. It is necessary to give serious consideration to any reasonable criticism and suggestions and to earnestly improve our work.

3. Party and government leading comrades of all cities, counties, and departments must keep an eye on the development of the situation, keep high vigilance against the attempt by a small number of people with ulterior motives to stir up turmoil, take resolute measures to stop turmoil, and thus steadfastly safeguard order in production, work, study, and everyday life throughout the province. Any abnormal cases must be reported to the provincial party committee and the provincial government in good time.

**Hunan Government Urges Maintenance of Order**  
HK2305013189 *Changsha Hunan Provincial Service*  
in Mandarin 2200 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] On the evening of 21 May, the provincial people's government held a telephone conference, calling on governments at all levels and all departments to unite as one, maintain normal order, and lose no time in promoting current production. Vice Governors Yu Haicaho and Zhuo Kangning respectively spoke on the issues of industrial and transport production and agriculture.

When dealing with the tasks that should be grasped well at the moment, Governor Chen Bangzhu pointed out that all the work should be subordinated to and serve stability. It is particularly necessary to stabilize leading bodies at all levels, to stabilize the ranks, and to stabilize the market.

Governor Chen Bangzhu first analyzed the current situation. He said that the current situation is really very grim. In particular, the tasks of strengthening discipline, deepening the reform, organizing industrial and agricultural production well, and ensuring effective supply are very arduous. In the face of this situation, through

numerous studies, the provincial party committee and the provincial government deem it necessary to pay particular attention to getting a good grasp of the following tasks:

First, conscientiously study Comrade Li Peng's important speech and resolutely maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee and the State Council. Governments at all levels must enforce administrative discipline and law and take effective measures to strengthen leadership and management over the localities and units under their jurisdiction. Office workers must stand fast at their posts, be faithful in the discharge of their duties, and maintain normal work order. Public security personnel and people's armed policemen should make further efforts to maintain traffic order and social order, strengthen public order, and resolutely crack down on various illegal and criminal activities according to the law. All industrial and commercial enterprises and other institutions should observe labor discipline and uphold normal production order. Schools at all levels and of all types should maintain normal teaching order.

Second, governments and leading cadres at all levels should unite as one, exert themselves, strengthen leadership and organizational coordination, and work hard in order to stabilize order, promote production, and stabilize the market. Now is the season of ample hydroelectric power in our province. It is absolutely necessary to seize all opportunities to promote production.

He also emphatically pointed out that it is necessary to hold high the banner of unity. In the face of difficulty, we must unite as one. In particular, leading bodies at all levels must unite and take the overall situation into account. All departments should take the initiative to work in coordination, understand and support each other, and make joint efforts to carry out our work well. It is necessary to implement the principle of stability and do painstaking and meticulous work.

At present, capital shortage is still a conspicuous contradiction. We should strengthen management and coordination and try our best to use our funds flexibly and satisfactorily.

**Hunan Trade Union Head Opposes General Strike**  
HK2405125489 *Changsha Hunan Provincial Service*  
in Mandarin 1000 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] A spokesman for the Hunan Provincial Trade Union Federation today made a speech on stabilizing the current situation. The text is as follows:

In recent days, it has been rumored in some areas that the provincial Trade Union Federation is calling for a general strike. The spokesman for the provincial Trade Union Federation solemnly declares that this is a sheer fabrication. The provincial Trade Union Federation has all along held that workers and staff members of all trades and professions and all units should stand fast at their posts,

persevere in work, and maintain the overall situation of stability and unity. It does not make sense to attempt to solve problems by stopping work and calling a strike. The students' demands for developing democracy and legality, eliminating corruption and official racketeering, and promoting economic and political reforms are in keeping with the objectives of the party and the state and with the wishes of the working class and trade union cadres. The provincial Trade Union Federation calls for the firm protection of the students' patriotic zeal and the solving of problems through the channels of democracy and legality, so as to push forward reform and construction in a stable social environment.

Now, it is imperative to stabilize the situation. The provincial Trade Union Federation has repeatedly stated its fundamental position on this point and even issued a relevant circular. Now, the federation reaffirms that it hopes that all sectors will keep calm, be sensible, exercise restraint, observe discipline, take the overall interests into account, maintain stability and unity, and prevent the situation from deteriorating.

We sincerely hope and confidently believe that all workers and staff members have a sound understanding of their duties, will stand fast at their posts and maintain a normal order in production and work as well as a normal social order, and will seize the present opportune moment of sufficient power supply to work hard for production and create more materials and wealth, so as to promote democracy and legality with actual deeds and attain the goal of reform and modernization.

### Southwest Region

#### Sichuan Urges Normal Operation of Vital Services HK2505054889 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] On 24 May, the provincial government summoned responsible comrades from the energy, communications, telecommunications, and light and textile industry departments to study how to maintain normal production and work order in the current social confusion and ensure the normal operations of the energy, communications, telecommunications, and other departments.

Vice Governor Pu Haiqing said at the meeting: In present conditions, the cadres, staff, and workers of the province's energy, communications, and telecommunications departments have been able to regard the overall situation as the most important thing, stay at their work posts, and work hard in getting a good grasp of production. The transport departments have ensured safe transport by railroad and highway. The electric power departments have done well in generating and supplying power. The production and supply of coal and natural gas is satisfactory. Posts and telecommunications have been working normally.

Vice Governor Pu Haiqing expressed the hope that the staff and workers in industry and communications will, whatever the circumstances, be able to carry on their work and production, to ensure that there will be no impact on the national economy and people's daily life.

The provincial Communications Department held a meeting of city and prefectural communications bureau chiefs, managers of transport enterprises, and responsible persons of subordinate units on 22 and 23 May to make arrangements for current transportation tasks and to report on the January-April performance.

The meeting stressed: The cadres, staff, and workers of the communications system must stay at their posts and take practical action to ensure normal order and stabilize the situation. We must regard doing a good job in communications and transport, especially grain transport work, as the overriding task, and ensure supplies for the daily life of the people of the whole province.

#### Yunnan CPC Secretary Backs Li Peng Speech HK2405144089 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Yesterday afternoon, the Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee held a meeting in Kunming City. The meeting was attended by leading party cadres from all provincial organs, calling on all CPC members and all people in Yunnan Province to resolutely support the measures adopted by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council to stabilize the situation in Beijing and work hard to safeguard the situation of stability, unity, and steady economic development in the Yunnan border areas.

The meeting was presided over by He Zhiqiang, deputy secretary of the Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee and governor of Yunnan Province. Nie Ronggui, deputy secretary of the Yunnan Provincial CPC Central Committee, briefed the participants on the situation in Beijing.

On behalf of the Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee, Pu Chaozhu, secretary of the Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee, made specific arrangements for implementing the spirit of the speech made by Comrade Li Peng at a meeting attended by the party, government, and military leaders in Beijing. Pu Chaozhu said that Yunnan Province is situated in China's border areas. Since the beginning of this year, Yunnan Province has suffered one natural calamity after another. Therefore, Yunnan Province desperately needs a stable situation and a normal social order and should try to do a good job in all types of provincial work.

The meeting was attended by the members of the Standing Committee of the Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee; members of the Yunnan Provincial CPC Advisory Committee; secretary and deputy secretaries of the Yunnan Provincial CPC Discipline Inspection Committee; chairman and vice chairmen, who are CPC members, of

the Standing Committee of the Yunnan Provincial People's Congress; deputy governors of the Yunnan Provincial People's Government; chairman and vice chairmen, who are CPC members, of the Yunnan Provincial Chinese People's Political Consultative Congress [CPPCC]; Yunnan-based members of the CPC Central Advisory Commission; Yunnan-based members of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, who are CPC members; Yunnan-based members of the CPPCC, who are CPC members; some veteran comrades from various provincial organs; responsible party cadres from various provincial departments, commissions, and bureaus; responsible party cadres from various institutions of higher learning in Yunnan Province, and responsible party cadres from various people's organizations in Yunnan Province.

## North Region

### Inner Mongolia Commissions Study Li Peng Speech

#### Advisory Commission Convenes

SK2505014789 Hohhot Inner Mongolia Regional Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] On 24 May, a meeting was held by the regional Advisory Commission, attended by its members and the Standing Committee members in Hohhot, to conscientiously study the important speeches made by Comrades Li Peng and Yang Shangkun at the capital's rally of party, government, and Army cadres.

The participants unanimously pledged that they would resolutely support the policy decision of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on ending the disturbances, politically act in unison with the party Central Committee, take a clear-cut stand to oppose and end the disturbances, and make contributions to safeguarding the political situation characterized by stability and unity.

Comrade Hao Xiushan presided over the meeting. Attending the meeting were Lin Weiran, Shen Xinfu, (Xu Jinshan), (Shi Luyin), (Gu Lie), (Guo Di), Cheng Fengtao, (Su Moyuan), and (Tong Mengyu).

They pointed out: The vast number of young students are patriotic. Their expectation of punishing official racketeers and eliminating corruption and some of their suggestions accord with the goals of the party, the government, and the masses of the people. However, the trend cannot be totally changed by the subjective aspirations of the young students. It tends to develop in the opposite direction of their aspirations.

In line with their personal experiences, they reviewed the great losses and grave disasters created during the 10-year turmoil of the Great Cultural Revolution, and expressed that such past mistakes must not be repeated.

In line with their long-term revolutionary struggle experiences, some veteran comrades said: Our party is a great, bright, and correct party. Only socialism can save China. The four cardinal principles were historical experiences gained at the expense of the highest sacrifices and of the foundation for building the country.

They hoped that the parents of the young students would take into consideration the whole situation of the nation, share concern with the nation and the party, and do a good job in persuading and educating the students.

During the study and discussions, they unanimously maintained: Unity and construction are the overall work of Inner Mongolia. The gratifying situation characterized by stability and unity today is hard-won. Therefore, we must cherish this.

They firmly believed that the vast number of Communist Party members and the cadres and the masses of various nationalities throughout the region will rally around and act in unison with the party Central Committee, have a clear-cut stand to oppose and end the disturbances under the correct leadership of the regional party committee, and strive to further stabilize the situation and rejuvenate Inner Mongolia.

#### Discipline Inspection Group Meets

SK2505022189 Hohhot Inner Mongolia Regional Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Today the regional Discipline Inspection Commission held an enlarged Standing Committee plenary session to continually study the important speeches made by Comrades Li Peng and Yang Shangkun at the capital's rally of party, government, and Army cadres, and Comrade Wang Qun's speech at the meeting of regional office cadres.

They unanimously pledged to resolutely support the policy decisions and measures worked out by the party Central Committee and the State Council to immediately end the disturbances in the capital.

The participants said: The disturbances that first began in Beijing and spread to all localities of the country have brought about evil influence to our political and economic activities and the work in all fields. At this crucial moment, the regional Discipline Inspection Commission call on discipline inspection organs at various levels throughout the region to ideologically and practically act in unison with the party Central Committee, and resolutely and conscientiously implement the regional party committee's specific arrangements to stabilize the situation. At the same time, we should stand fast at our posts, firmly attend to the investigation and handling of undisciplined cases, strictly punish corrosive elements, end corrosive activities, and promote the setup of the administrative honesty system. The discipline inspection front should create fruitful achievements to enjoy the people's support. Discipline inspection organs at various levels should bring into full

play their guaranteeing and supervisory role, strive to safeguard the party discipline and the regional political situation characterized by stability and unity, and promote the smooth progress of the region's reform, opening to the outside world, and construction.

Geriletu, secretary of the regional Discipline Inspection Commission, presided over the session.

### Northeast Region

#### Heilongjiang Government Reports Personnel Changes SK1905133289 Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Apr 89 p 3

[Personnel appointments and removals approved at the Ninth Standing Committee meeting of the Seventh Heilongjiang Provincial People's Congress on 27 April]

[Excerpts] Tian Fengshan [3944 7685 1472] was appointed vice governor of the provincial people's government; Wang Dexin [3769 1779 2450] was appointed director of the provincial Price Bureau; An Yushu [1344 3768 2579] was appointed director of the provincial Technical Monitoring Bureau; and Xue Rongchang was removed from the post of director of the provincial Price Bureau. [passage omitted]

Guan Dexin [7070 1795 0207] was appointed president of the Da Hinggan Ling Prefectural Intermediate People's Court, and Di Yinqui was removed from the post of president of the Da Hinggan Ling Prefectural Intermediate People's Court.

#### Jilin Groups Convene Forum on Li Peng Speech SK2205075089 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2100 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] On the afternoon of 20 May, the provincial committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association and the provincial Industrial and Commercial Federation convened a forum to study and discuss Comrade Li Peng's speech delivered at the Beijing meeting of party, government, and Army cadres.

Cheng Shengsan, vice chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, chairman of the provincial committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association and chairman of the provincial Industrial and Commercial Federation, took the floor first. He said that at this critical moment, members of the China Democratic National Construction Association and the Industrial and Commercial Federation must uphold the stand of the Chinese Communist Party and the state and must safeguard stability and unity, the CPC leadership, and the socialist system in order to make due contributions to reform, openness, and the four modernizations.

Li Guotai, Standing Committee member of the provincial committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference [CPPCC] and vice chairman of the provincial committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association; (Wu Hongmin), member of the National CPPCC Committee and vice chairman of the provincial committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association; (Li Yuhong), member of the provincial CPPCC Committee and vice chairman of the provincial Industrial and Commercial Federation; and Zhang Zhilian, vice chairman of the provincial Industrial and Commercial Federation, unanimously stated that they will resolutely respond to the urgent appeal of the party Central Committee and the State Council, will stand fast at their posts, and will safeguard the social stability with practical action. Under all circumstances, they will stand together through thick and thin and closely cooperate with the CPC in order to make contributions to reform, openness, and the four modernizations.

#### Liaoning's Quan Relays Central Guidelines SK2405061189 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 0930 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] This afternoon, the provincial party committee and government held a meeting of cadres at and above the section level of the organs directly under the province, who attended in two groups. The meeting relayed and implemented the guidelines of the rally of the party, government, and Army cadres held by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council.

Quan Shuren, secretary of the provincial party committee, stressed: The task facing the masses of party members throughout the province at present is to help the state tide over difficulties, prevent disturbance from emerging in politics, maintain stability in economic activities, avoid interruption in production, and resolve the various complaints about the party and government through normal channels. The masses of cadres of the organs should clearly distinguish right from wrong, discern the various rumors in society, and refrain from doing anything that would sadden our own people and benefit the enemy.

Sun Qi and Wang Julu, deputy secretaries of the provincial party committee, also attended today's meeting.

### Northwest Region

#### Gansu's Li Urges Trade Unions To Support CPC OW2405171689 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0930 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] At a provincial forum of trade union chairmen from Gansu's industrial plants and major enterprises sponsored by the Gansu Provincial Trade Union Council today, Li Ziqi, secretary of the Gansu Provincial CPC Committee, said that the working class should support

the decisive measures taken by the party Central Committee to maintain stability and unity with their concrete deeds in standing fast at their posts and persisting in production.

There are 600,000 industrial workers in Lanzhou Prefecture, Gansu. In recent days, trade unions in various enterprises have conducted ideological work and education among the workers. The workers have basically maintained a rational and calm attitude.

Li Ziqi called on the responsible persons of trade unions from the various industrial plants and major enterprises and, through them, all workers of the whole province, to unify their thinking with the four cardinal principles, to work hard, to stand fast at their posts, and to persist in production.

**CPC Holds Meeting on Stability of Gansu**  
HK2505024889 *Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service*  
in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] On the afternoon of 23 May, the Gansu Provincial CPC Committee invited to a meeting responsible persons of the provincial-level democratic parties, the provincial Federation of Industry and Commerce, the provincial Counsellors' Office and the provincial Cultural and Historical Data Research Office.

The participants expressed their views on stabilizing the situation in Gansu and made many suggestions.

At the meeting (Ma Tilie), (Yin Zhongyi), (Guo Fuzhen), (Ma Yaonan), Zhu Yuxian, Yan Shutang, (Ma Guanle) and Han Tiecheng took the floor. They pointed out: The spirit of the emergency circular issued by the provincial Party government and the provincial people's government on resolutely maintaining the general situation of stability and unity tallies with the actual situation in Gansu and is practical. They said that they support the circular and will carry it out. They also offered some helpful suggestions on problems of developing a clean government system, improving social order, strengthening press and publicity work, resuming classes in universities and colleges, calling for workers to stand fast at their production posts, and urging cadres to stand fast at their posts. They pledged that they will do their part in stabilizing the general situation in cooperation with the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government.

Provincial CPC Committee Secretary Li Ziqi and Deputy Secretary Lu Kejian attended the meeting. They welcomed views and suggestions presented by the meeting participants.

**Qinghai Organs Urge Study of Li Peng Speech**  
HK2205151489 *Xining Qinghai Provincial Service*  
in Mandarin 1300 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] All the party committees of organs directly under the provincial authorities and the provincial Federation of Trade Unions have separately issued circulars urging party organizations at all levels affiliated to organs directly under the provincial authorities and trade unions at all levels to conscientiously study Comrade Li Peng's important speech.

The circulars demand that party organizations and trade unions at all levels earnestly organize party members, Communist Youth League [CYL] members, cadres, staff members, and workers to study the important speech delivered by Comrade Li Peng on 19 May, so as to enhance their understanding, distinguish right from wrong, and keep in line with the party central authorities in terms of both thinking and action. It is necessary to unite with the broad masses, do meticulous ideological and political work, and make contributions to stabilizing the situation, the circulars say.

The circular to organs directly under the provincial authorities demands that all party members strictly observe party discipline and play an exemplary role in uniting with the masses and in checking turmoil. All staff members of these organs are required to stand fast at their posts and be faithful in the discharge of their duties. On the other hand, trade unions at all levels are required to take the initiative in cooperating with government organs and other administrative departments to conduct ideological work among staff members and workers of plants, shops, and schools; to unite with the masses through all channels; and to see that these people take the initiative in maintaining good order in production, teaching, and scientific research, and perform their duties well.

Another report said that the party committee of the provincial Construction Department has required the department's staff and has organized party members and other staff members in grass-roots units to conscientiously study Comrade Li Peng's important speech. The party committee and the trade union of the Qinghai cotton textile mill have drawn up six rules and made them known to party members, CYL members, cadres, staff members, and workers in the plant, urging them to actively respond to the call of the party central authorities and to vigorously launch the drive to fulfill more than half of the work quota by mid-year, as well as the drive of double increase and double economy. Now, production, work, and everyday life are all in good order in this textile mill.

**Qinghai Military Issues Circular to Units**  
HK2205145389 *Xining Qinghai Provincial Service*  
in Mandarin 1300 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] The party committee of the provincial Military District issued a circular on 20 May, urging its subordinate units to actively play their due role in stabilizing the situation.

The circular points out that beginning 20 May, various units must make special arrangements to conscientiously study the important speeches made by Premier Li Peng and President Yang Shangkun at the meeting of the party, government and military cadres in the capital, as well as the 26 April and 29 April editorials of RENMIN RIBAO, to fully realize the severe harmfulness caused by upheaval in some cities. They must resolutely support the decisive measures taken by the party and government aimed at stabilizing the situation, and firmly keep in line with the party Central Committee ideologically and politically. They must vigorously give publicity to the guiding principle and instructions issued by the party Central Committee and the State Council on stopping upheaval and stabilizing the situation. They must do a good job in supporting the government and cherishing the people, in order to preserve the political situation of stability and unity. They must obey orders and comply with the commands, and ensure the completion of the various tasks of the military units.

The circular stresses: Various units must strictly observe discipline and maintain their reason. No units and individuals are allowed to participate in, assist, or support the hunger strike activities, petitions, or demonstrations in any form. When units encounter new situations and principled problems involving policies, they must not hesitate to report them to the higher authorities. They are not allowed to deal with them without authorization or act arbitrarily to preserve the unity of the Army units and the fine image of the People's Liberation Army.

**Xinjiang Party Circular Demands Study of Speech**  
HK2205134489 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service  
in Mandarin 1130 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] On 21 May, the regional party committee issued a circular to the party committees at all levels in the region on seriously studying Li Peng's important speech delivered at the gathering of Beijing party, government, and Army cadres. The circular said: On 19 May, Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau and premier of the State Council, delivered an important speech on behalf of the Political Bureau Standing Committee at a gathering of Beijing party, government, and Army cadres. He called on the whole party, the whole Army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to work together in unity, go into action, and take a clear-cut stand to put a stop to disturbances and preserve stability and unity, so as to ensure the

smooth progress of reforms, opening up, and socialist modernization. The regional party committee and people's government resolutely support the policy decision of the CPC Central Committee and State Council on putting a stop to disturbances and maintaining stability, and will resolutely implement it. The circular demands that all places, departments, and units at all levels vigorously organize the cadres and masses of all nationalities to seriously study and discuss Comrade Li Peng's important speech and profoundly appreciate its importance. Through study, the cadres and masses of all nationalities, particularly leading cadres at all levels, must unify their thinking and conscientiously implement the spirit of Comrade Li Peng's speech and the correct measures of the CPC Central Committee and State Council on checking turmoil in the course of our practical work.

The circular says: It is necessary to link the study of Comrade Li Peng's important speech closely with the realities of our region. According to the guidelines of Comrade Li Peng's speech, all prefectures, departments, and units must correctly appraise the situation and work out effective measures to check turmoil and uphold stability and unity.

A serious incident of beating, smashing, looting, and disturbance, in which the regional leadership organ was pounded at on 19 May, recently occurred in Urumqi. It was turmoil created by a gang of ruffians. Its nature was very serious. While penetratingly studying Comrade Li Peng's speech, all places must organize the cadres and the masses of all nationalities and must link the study with the discussion of the XINJIANG RIBAO 20 May editorial, "Resolutely Curb Turmoil; Uphold Stability and Unity," so that all of them can fully understand the great harm of the 19 May incident, sharpen and heighten their vigilance, and conscientiously contribute toward upholding the regional situation of stability and unity.

The circular demands: Through studying Comrade Li Peng's speech, party and government leadership departments at all levels must truly strengthen leadership over and management of their subordinate places and units, and do a good job in conducting penetrating and meticulous ideological and political work. The cadres and the masses of all nationalities must stand fast at their posts and maintain the normal order of work and production. Communist Party members and Communist Youth League members must unite the masses and give full play to their exemplary and vanguard role in the course of preventing and curbing turmoil.

**Taiwan Participation in ADB Meeting Viewed**  
**HK1805131589 Hong Kong LIAOWANG OVERSEAS**  
**EDITION in Chinese No 20, 15 May 89 pp 6-7**

[Article by Li Dahong (2621 1129 1347): "Ms Shirley Kuo's Beijing Trip"]

[Text] In early May, a Taipei delegation headed by Ms Shirley Kuo, member of the board of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), attended the 22d annual meeting of the ADB in Beijing. The delegation received a lot of attention and was warmly welcome by mainland compatriots.

**Equal and Courteous Treatment Without Discrimination**

On the evening of 4 May, Li Guixian, state councillor and president of the People's Bank of China, gave a banquet in his capacity as chairman of the ADB board. Prior to the banquet, Li Guixian, Chen Muhua, and Wang Bingqian shook hands with Ms Kuo and talked with her. Seeing this, Qiu Qing, vice president of the People's Bank of China, said: "As blood compatriots, we feel cordial and happy at first sight."

After the announcement of the Taiwan authorities' decision to send Ms Shirley Kuo to lead the delegation to the ADB annual meeting in Beijing, some people in Taiwan were worried that the mainland would put her delegation in an awkward position, and others even held a rehearsal for members of the delegation with regard to the use of the national flag, the name of the delegation, what to discuss, and where to sit.

However the mainland did not want to see the Taiwan delegation embarrassed, because people on both sides of the strait "are Chinese." When Li Guixian met the ADB secretary general on 4 March this year, he said: We welcome Taipei, China, to send a delegation to the 22d ADB annual meeting in Beijing as long as they abide by a "memorandum on understanding" signed between the Chinese Government and the ABD. The mainland will make the Chinese Taipei delegation's entry easy and provide a good reception for its members.

On the morning of 4 May, the 22d ADB annual meeting solemnly opened in the Great Hall of the People. This annual meeting was different from other meetings in terms of decoration and seat arrangements. In the hall hung the ADB emblem and flag and the national flag of the host country, whereas national flags of other ADB member countries were not hoisted. Seat arrangements were made according to participants' posts. The seats of the ADB director and deputy directors, diplomats, and high-ranking Chinese officials were arranged in front of the rostrum; after those were the seats of the relevant delegations; and reporters took the back seats. Thus, everyone had a seat according to the title of his or her post. On that day, Ms Kuo took seat No 22 of row 11. Unlike what had been predicted by some people, she did not "lodge a protest."

Prior to this event, the mainland had made good arrangements for the entry visas of the Taiwan delegation. After the Taiwan delegation settled down in Changcheng Hotel, they expressed the hope that they could have special car arrangements. The ADB side promptly agreed to their proposal.

Some people here said that the mainland is happy to see Taiwan taking part in international economic, cultural, and sports activities under the prerequisite of one China. Facts have proven that when Taiwan obtains assistance from the mainland under a mutual understanding between both sides, it can take part in international economic and cultural exchanges.

**Good Arrangements and Good Cooperation**

During their stay in Beijing, they showed a deep interest in scenic spots, historical sites, and local customs. Ms Shirley Kuo praised Beijing by saying: "Many places in Beijing are very beautiful and the people here are pleasant and amiable."

On 2 May some Taiwan delegation members, including Lin Chin-ching, Lai Ying-chao, Hsueh Wei-chong, and Tong Kuo-you went to the Great Hall of the People to inspect the site of the meeting. On their way to the hall, Lai Ying-chao took a deep interest in some of the buildings on both sides of Changan Boulevard, including the Friendship Store and Beijing Hotel, and kept asking the driver to explain. Hsueh Wei-chong said: "Which things here are different from Taiwan? Everything is very much the same." The portrait of Sun Yat-sen that was erected in front of the Monument to the People's Heroes on May Day aroused their great interest.

Provisional ADB Deputy Director Xie Senzhong, 69, is a native of Meixian County, Guangdong Province. This old man was not quite willing to get in touch with mainland reporters. But while visiting the Great Wall together with a LIAOWANG reporter, he talked at length about Chinese history. He hoped that young people would carry forward Chinese culture. He told this reporter that he had many relatives, friends, fellow students, and colleagues on the mainland. But he could not visit them because he did not have enough time. He said he would visit more places if he came to the mainland again. The more he talked the more excited he became, and eventually he could not help singing songs praising the Great Wall. When he found that this reporter was singing along, his eyes glistened with emotion.

On 3 May, 1 day before the ADB annual meeting was held, the Taiwan delegation visited the Forbidden City, but Ms Shirley Kuo could not go because she had another appointment. This was not one of ADB arrangements, but everyone was willing to go.

After a 3-day busy meeting early on the morning of 7 May, Ms Shirley Kuo left Changcheng Hotel for Jingshan Park, the Summer Palace, and the Heavenly Temple.

During her visits to these places, she said to our reporter: "The Chinese nation has had a history of civilization for several thousand years. The scenery is beautiful and the ancient buildings are well preserved."

On that afternoon, she left Beijing for Taiwan. Prior to her departure, she told a group of reporters: "The ADB annual meeting proceeded very smoothly. The relevant department made good arrangements for our hotel accommodation and activities, and cooperation has been very good."

For the first time in 40 years, Mr Shirley Kuo led a Taiwan delegation to an international meeting in Beijing. Undoubtedly, this was very good for exchanges between the two sides of the strait.

Reports say that many Taiwan manufacturers are interested in making investments on the mainland. Now, thousands of Taiwan manufacturers have built factories on the mainland, and about 3,000 Taiwan businessmen participated in the spring commodities fair in Guangzhou. The Taiwan authorities' "three no's" policy and hostility have hampered the development of economic relations between the two sides of the strait and harmed the interests of Taiwan industrial and commercial circles. So far, tens of thousands of Taiwan people have come to the mainland to make investments, to carry out trade, to take part in matches, or to attend meetings. But Taiwan still has many restrictions on the mainland people. If Shirley Kuo's Beijing visit was a "sensible action," then people have reason to say that the Taiwan authorities should adjust their policy toward the mainland.

In answer to our reporter's questions, Ms Shirley Kuo said: "Better economic development on the Chinese mainland will contribute much to the happiness of mankind."

Just imagine, if exchanges and cooperation between the two sides of the strait are strengthened under the prerequisite of one China, will this not constitute a great contribution to the happiness of mankind?

**Taiwan Compatriots Concerned About Hainan**  
HK1705110489 Beijing *RENMIN RIBAO* in Chinese  
11 May 89 p 2

[Report: "Taiwan Compatriots Show Concern for Development of Hainan Province and Ask For Participation in a Louder Voice"]

[Text] According to HAINAN RIBAO, which cites Hong Kong sources, the recent implementation of the policy of developing Hainan's Yangpu has aroused widespread concern in Taiwan over participation in Hainan's development. Some "members of the Legislative Yuan" and economists have called on the authorities to positively participate in Hainan's development and construction.

These Taiwan people have pointed out that participation in the development of Hainan means benefits for the mainland as well as for Taiwan's substantive economic development.

Taiwan's "Legislative Yuan member" Wang Chu-wen thinks that at present, Taiwan has too much capital, and labor-intensive enterprises have become more difficult to run. He thinks that the problem can be eased if the Taiwan authorities can direct the people in organizing sizable and well-planned investment companies with Hainan as their target. He also points out that Taiwan's participation in Hainan's development can take the form of a guarantee from a third party or an international organization to contract-lease Hainan's land, or to accept commissioned development or cooperative development.

Taiwan's famous economist, Huo Chia-chu, has published an article entitled, "Can We Help in Hainan Island's Development?" The article says: Taiwan's participation in the development of Hainan Island can bring greater profits. In trade, the market in Hainan will be added, and new demands will be created by investment for development. This will reduce Taiwan's reliance on foreign trade. Concerning production, many Taiwan industrialists are seeking opportunities to invest overseas. Participating in Hainan's development, manufacturers can form groups investing in a coordinated manner in different links, in order to earn higher returns and seek better opportunities.

Professor Pien Yu-yuan, chairman of the Department of International Trade at National Taiwan University, has offered a proposal basically similar to the one presented by Wang Chu-wen. It includes the ideas of contracting-leasing, commission, and cooperative development.

**President Li Urges Support of Mainland Movement**  
*OW2405172789 Taipei CNA in English*  
*1547 GMT 24 May 89*

[Text] Taipei, May 25 (CNA)—President Li Teng-hui instructed government units Wednesday to work out effective measures to support the democratic movement in Mainland China.

He said that all people and the government here should back their compatriots on the mainland in their struggle for freedom and democracy: "Their tears and blood should not flow in vain, and their passion should not be wasted."

President Li, in his capacity as chairman of the ruling Kuomintang, made the remarks at a meeting of the Kuomintang Central Standing Committee after he heard a report on the mainland democratic movement. He pointed out that the current anti-tyranny demonstrations are the largest ever seen in history and have won worldwide sympathy and support. The movement clearly shows that people on the mainland and abroad have contempt for communism which is doomed to collapse.

If the Chinese communists insist on the so-called "four instances," then any "open" or "renovation" policy they might adopt will be nothing but the beginning of another large turmoil, President Li said.

"Since our compatriots on the China mainland are our brothers and sisters, we cannot restrain our anger and sorrow when we see the students' hunger strike being dismissed by the communist authorities." President Li said: "I hope all people and government units will give all sorts of support, both material and spiritual, to them."

**Kuomintang Official Comments on Mainland Campaign**  
*OW2405173589 Taipei CNA in English*  
*1608 GMT 24 May 89*

[Text] Taipei, May 24 (CNA)—Freedom and democracy, which the demonstrating mainland Chinese are demanding from their communist rulers, will eventually bury Marxism and communism in the ashes of history, a ranking Kuomintang (KMT) official said Wednesday.

Hsiao Chang-lo, director of the KMT Department of Mainland Operations, said the on-going democracy movement led by Peiping students was being joined by a majority of the masses and even by communist cadres and bureaucrats.

Even if this wave of democracy movement were to be put down by the communist regime, it will become a significant event exercising a far-reaching influence on history, Hsiao told a meeting of the KMT Central Standing Committee.

Some may argue that the student movement were [as received] just seeking political reform, not the overthrow of the communist system, Hsiao said, but, he added, political reform will certainly lead to political democratization, which will eventually challenge Marxist and communist policy lines.

The workers' support for the democracy movement has shaken the basis of the "proletariat dictatorship," one of the four cardinal principles of the Chinese communist regime, he pointed out.

And the cadres' participation in the movement proves that the myths of party loyalty and class theory of Marxism-Leninism have been washed away in the democratization currents, the KMT cadre said.

Cheng Hsin-hsiung, director of the KMT's Department of Overseas Affairs, noted that mainland students studying abroad have staged rallies calling for democracy and freedom.

Their support for their mainland compatriots has become a tremendous echo of the calls for democracy at home, Cheng said. He said he had asked Overseas Chinese as well as ROC [Republic of China] officials stationed abroad to give maximum support to the mainland democracy movement.

**Civilian Groups Urge Beijing To Accept Demands**  
*OW2005093589 Taipei CNA in English*  
*1530 GMT 19 May 89*

[Text] Taipei, May 19 (CNA)—Educational, religious and other civilian groups here called on Peiping's communist rulers Friday to institute effective reform measures immediately in response to nation-wide student calls for freedoms and democracy.

The Republic of China [ROC] Education Association said the students' democratic movement was being joined by other intellectuals, workers, farmers, and even communist party cadres. The spreading demonstrations against communist party dictatorship indicate a mass awakening of compatriots on the mainland, it said in a statement.

"The democratic movement also promises a bright future for the Chinese people," it added.

The National Association of Private School [words indistinct] from around the island, said it had recently received numerous letters and phone calls offering moral and material support to the striking students in Tienanmen Square, central Peiping.

"The messages we have gotten also hope that the government will lead an islandwide campaign to promptly gather powerful support for our mainland compatriots," a spokesman for the private schools' association said.

The Chinese Youth Business-Founding Association voiced strong opposition to any attempts by the communist authorities to suppress the students' patriotic movement. The association said they are willing to help mainland youths establish their own businesses. "We are also willing to support political and economic reforms on the mainland which will facilitate democratization there," they added.

The Republic of China Patriotic Education Association has launched a drive to "send our love to Tienanmen" and started collecting donations at bus stops and stations.

The association said Gen. Wego Chiang, secretary general of the National Security Council, donated 100,000 new Taiwan dollars which he hoped would buy "nutritious food" for the young people in the Tienanmen Square.

But reports from Peiping said the students had declined to accept any material support from Taiwan in order to keep their movement "pure"—so that the communist rulers would have no excuse to file charges against them.

The ROC Moslems Association said the on-going democratic movement showed that the communist dictatorship was being spurned.

The ROC Taoist Association praised the students and other protestors for their religious morality of "suffering ahead of all others in society" when injustice is rampant.

The Taoists urged their fellow mainland believers to "unite together to force the communists to restore religious freedom and to relinquish Marxist atheism."

**Commentary Calls Protests a 'Major Uprising'**  
*OW1905102589 Taipei International Service  
 in English 0200 GMT 19 May 89*

[Station commentary: "Chinese Communism on the Edge"]

[Text] The mass protests in Tienanmen Square in the heart of Peking are beginning to resemble the first rumblings of a major uprising against communist rule. Oh sure, we've said that a hundred times over the years, but think about it. On Wednesday, while Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev met with Chinese communist leaders in the Great Hall of the People, more than 1 million persons filled the square outside, protesting for more freedom and democracy. In days bygone, such a display of discontent with communism would have been unthinkable, let alone during the visit of an important foreign head-of-state. We'd say Peking is in trouble.

The throngs of protesters ignored warnings by the Chinese communist leadership to refrain from gathering in Tienanmen during Gorbachev's visit. But the student-led masses simply plied right through police barricades in a march to the square that began peacefully and ended

peacefully. Thus far, no violence has been reported, despite the numbers of persons involved, and despite Peking's record on handling such protests, foreign journalists even reporting seeing a group of militia officers raise a banner of their own and join the marchers.

Foreign observers, including a few Soviet journalists accompanying Gorbachev, are now daring to say that the Peking protests appear to be tolling the death knell for Chinese communism. One of the Soviet journalists told REUTERS that "after all this, nothing in our two countries can ever be the same again."

He was referring to the process of political reform, under which Gorbachev is desperately trying to bring the Soviet Union back from the edge of total collapse. The implication being, of course, that communist China cannot avoid such a radical change of course, either. The Soviet journalist went on to say that "democracy is now on the offensive here as well as at home. The order our old leaders thought they had imposed forever is collapsing."

Amen, if that be the case.

Indeed, the old style of one party totalitarian rule from the top—which is referred to as the "Stalinist model" in the Gorbachev era—is crumbling fast, both in the Soviet Union and communist China. Another Soviet political commentator visiting Peking said that if the mass protests in Peking lead to real political change, it could cause the rest of the communist world to move into a totally new era.

The protests in Peking have even called for Teng Hsiao-ping, communist China's paramount leader, and once the darling of liberals in Mainland China, to step down. The students feel that even Teng represents a roadblock to the kinds of social, economic, and political freedoms they desire.

The movement has gained momentum in recent weeks largely due to the Chinese communist party's inability to agree on a response. Thus far, the Chinese communist leadership has acted as though its hands are tied, suggesting that the party leadership is very much divided over how to react to the protests.

Originally, the protests were mounted by students only, in support of intellectuals who had begun pressing for democratic reforms late last year. The movement took on a new, more potent turn at the end of March when another liberal darling of the movement, Hu Yao-pang, passed away. Students and others took to the streets to protest the communist party's shabby treatment of Hu, who was purged 2 years before his death.

Now, the students have been joined by workers, who come in trucks, waving placards with the name of their factory "brigades" or units, more and more Peking residents are turning from bystanders to participants, as well.

If the protests persist, and student leaders say they will, Peking will sooner than later enter a danger zone on nonaction. A violent crackdown is still within the regime's means, if it is willing to risk what little credibility it has remaining. On the other hand, nonaction is dangerous for any communist regime that is bent on staying in power. For, once the people see that kind of weakness in an unpopular regime, they can be counted to take advantage of it, as the students and now people from other walks of life are demonstrating in Peking.

So far, the movement is by far the largest expression of anti-communist fervor ever in Communist China's 40-year history. It could be big. It could be the beginning of communism's final chapter in China. Peking can delay the ending with a crackdown, but it cannot change the outcome of the story.

#### **Commentary Examines Beijing Power Struggle**

*OW2305060289 Taipei International Service  
in English 0200 GMT 23 May 89*

[“Station commentary: “Peking Teeters on Brink of Violence”]

[Text] A showdown between protesting students and the Chinese communist army now looms in Peking as the students have refused to budge from their positions in Tienanmen Square, in the heart of the city. The students have refused to leave the square despite the communist regime's threat to use the Army to clear them, with violence, if necessary.

On Friday, the stakes were raised when communist Premier Li Peng ordered martial law in Peking, and brought in 60 to 70 thousand troops to enforce it. But the students are relying on their superior numbers and support from people of all walks of life to stand pat at Tienanmen.

Li reportedly had threatened to clear the square by 5 a.m. on Monday if the students did not voluntarily back off. At press time, it was not clear how events had turned in Peking, and whether or not Li carried out his threat.

Meanwhile, the crackdown on mass demonstrations appears to be weakened by an intense power struggle raging behind the scenes of the communist leadership. Li Peng is a hardliner who has tried to wrench control of the

situation from moderates or liberals such as party chief Chao Tzu-yang [Zhao Ziyang]. On Saturday, Chao reportedly tendered his resignation to protest the regime's plans to use force to deal with the demonstrators. Chao had sought dialogue with the students. Chao's status is unclear, pending the outcome of the power struggle.

What is not unclear is that the students and millions of other mainlanders appear ready to engage in a showdown with the communist regime. It is only the second time in communist China's 40-year history that the masses have begun to rise up against their communist oppressors. The first time came at the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, when the masses grew tired of the endless maniacal campaigns of the Gang of Four, and used the death of Premier Chou En-lai [Zhou Enlai] as an excuse to rise up.

Foreign journalists on the mainland are reporting that a general state of chaos is brewing, as it appears the communists have lost control. The mood among demonstrators in most mainland cities is one of optimism, as they feel the momentum is now on their side.

Could this be the beginnings of the uprising that finally uproots the communist system in Mainland China? To some observers, both on Taiwan and abroad, the recent events on the mainland do indeed sound like the death knell for Chinese communism. It depends, of course, on how successful any violent crackdown is; at this point, it could go either way. A crackdown might work, yet, on the other hand, it may kindle the fires of millions more persons, and draw them into the uprising. Thus, the situation has grown extremely tense.

Meanwhile, Taipei has formally voiced its support for the pro-democracy and freedom movement on the mainland. An official statement on Sunday said that Taipei would dutifully pull up the rear in any mass movement aimed at unseating the communists from power. Taipei also condemned Peking for using tyrannical and barbaric methods to deal with the people's movement.

In Hong Kong, a million persons demonstrated in support of the Peking students on Sunday. It was the largest public protest in Hong Kong history. With Overseas Chinese supporting pouring in, it is likely that the students will become further emboldened to stand pat against the communist army. A fate of greatness, or tragedy, awaits them.

## Hong Kong

### 60,000 Demonstrate at Anti-Li Peng Rally HK2505050989 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 25 May 89 pp 1, 3

[By S. Y. Wai]

[Text] About 60,000 people last night gathered at Victoria Park and marched along the island's main roads to Central, raising clenched fists and singing protest songs in a show of solidarity with the pro-democracy movement in China.

The event, called the "Down with Li Peng Rally", was organised by the All Hong Kong Citizens' Alliance in Support of the Chinese Patriotic Pro-Democracy Movement which was set up at Sunday's 600,000-strong demonstration.

Shouting "Down with Li Peng" the crowd echoed the call of protesters in Beijing and elsewhere in seeking Mr Li's resignation as prime minister.

Police Eastern District Commander Christopher Glover, who was in charge of escorting the protesters, said the crowd was between 50,000 and 60,000. He described the behaviour of the protesters as excellent.

"They (the alliance) do their own organising. We need only six officers inside the park," Mr Glover said.

Mr Glover's deputy, Senior Superintendent Cheung Chi-sum, said the route of the march was worked out between the police and the alliance although one of the organisers, Mr Cheung Man-kwong, denied any police intervention in deciding the route.

Mr Cheung said they decided not to include the Happy Valley headquarters of NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY because it would make the route more complicated.

People from all walks of life began pouring into the park from all directions at 5 pm and the crowds had filled up four football pitches shortly before 7 pm.

Many of the protesters were secondary and primary school students, many of whom still in their uniforms. They were guided through 90 minutes of songs and slogan-chanting by politicians and pop celebrities.

Led by movie director-producer and one-time student activist 1970s, John Shum Kin-fun, the crowd braved the rain to sing the Song For Freedom, written by Lowell Lo with lyrics by his wife Susan Tong for the Beijing students.

A tape recording by 120 celebrities of what has become the unofficial anthem of the student movement was sent to Beijing yesterday by singer Wong Yiu-pong, a former member of the now disbanded pop-group, Raiders.

Mr Shum also announced that a Woodstock-style fund-raising concert featuring pop idols and groups will be held at Happy Valley race course from 10 am to 10 pm on Saturday in support of students in China.

For the first time in Hong Kong's broadcasting history, the marathon concert will be carried live by Commercial Radio, Radio Television Hong Kong, Television Broadcasts Ltd and Asia Television.

At the rally all banners and placards were put down at the request of organisers. The only thing which flew throughout the event was the Five Starts, China's national flag, to the far right of the stage.

A secondary school student, Luk Ding-lee, went on stage and thanked headmasters and teachers for their support. He won applause when he urged more headmasters and teachers to come up in support.

Many came straight from school in their uniforms or from the office with their briefcases.

In one corner of the park, despite the din around them, a small group of youngsters had a lively debate on which of the two leaders had masterminded the imposition of martial law—senior leader Deng Xiaoping or Premier Li Peng.

In another group, office worker Daniel Lee Kwok-leung eagerly made known his view that pushing down Mr Li was not the solution.

"The movement will not take us very far if we don't take the chance to organise an opposition party," said Mr Lee, 23, who settled here from China more than 10 years ago.

He had been sitting in law classes at the Hong Kong University for two years and planned to study law in Britain next year.

There were also some welcome foreigners at the rally.

Mr Peter Martinson and his five English-speaking friends did not have the slightest idea of what was being said over the loudspeakers. But this did not put them off.

"We support the students in Beijing and want to show it. We also went to the Sunday rally, they appreciated our concern," said Mr Martinson, a 22-year-old visitor who arrived a week ago from his eight-month Mandarin studies in China.

"It's good to see the awakening of Hong Kong," said his friend, Ingunn Grindheim.

At about 8.30 pm the demonstrators set off to Central along the eastern-bound lane of major roads including Causeway Road, Yee Wo Street, Hennessy Road, Queen'sway, Dex Voeux Road Central and Chater Road, where the march ended.

At 9 pm, the head of the procession had already reached the junction of Hennessy Road and Johnston Road in Wan Chai while the last group of marchers was leaving Victoria Park.

Support along the way came from passers-by, residents from high-rise buildings, pedestrians on foot bridges, tourists, evening school students, firemen and staff members of pro-Beijing dailies TA KUNG PAO and NEW EVENING POST armed with pro-democracy banners.

**Officials Seize Truncheons Destined for PRC**  
HK2505030189 Hong Kong HONGKONG STANDARD  
in English 25 May 89 p 4

[Text] Hong Kong customs officials have seized a shipment of electric truncheons destined for riot control troops in China.

The truncheons were ordered for use by troops in Sichuan Province, apparently by a senior Communist Party cadre.

Customs investigators said the truncheons were shipped from Taiwan and the sales agreement required urgent delivery.

"This leads us to think that they may have been ordered in case the current protests got out of hand," one official said.

Two Hong Kong transport company executives, a man and a woman, were arrested in connection with the shipment.

They were questioned by airport police yesterday and released on police bail of \$500 each.

A government spokesman said the truncheons were seized on Monday during a routine check of cargo from Taiwan.

"Customs officers found a box of 130 baton-like electric stun devices and confiscated them as offensive weapons," he said.

The spokesman would not comment on reports that the truncheons were part of a larger shipment of 5,000 destined for China.

The truncheons, about 80 centimetres long, cost about \$15,000 each. United States police are the major buyers.

**Editorial Views Implications of Mainland Unrest**  
HK2205021989 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA  
MORNING POST in English 22 May 89 p 22

[Editorial: "Chinese Leaders Out of Touch With People"]

[Text] The force of public opinion unleashed by the Beijing protest has spread far beyond the borders of the People's Republic. Hong Kong, whose future is so dependent on China, has also been caught up in the extraordinary events. Yesterday there was a demonstration of unprecedented proportions, with hundreds of thousands of people taking part in the largest political protest in the territory's history.

The fact that so many diverse political groups, with members from liberals to pro-Beijing trade unionists and officials, joined the huge march and rally at Happy Valley is an indication in itself of what effect events in China have had on Hong Kong people. Hong Kong members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Basic Law Drafting Committee have threatened to resign unless the Chinese leadership reverses its decision to impose martial law on parts of Beijing on Saturday. Legislative councillors have also expressed regret at the threats of repressive measures.

Inevitably, part of their anxiety stems from concern about what degree of faith can be placed in documents like the Joint Declaration or the Basic Law if the authorities in Beijing can resort to martial law to quell calls for democratic freedoms. Hong Kong, not noted for its political activism, has found a rallying-point which has stirred its collective consciousness to an extent that has surprised everyone. Feelings of nationalism are being stirred in an expression of affinity with their Chinese compatriots. How this sentiment will develop is unpredictable, but it will inevitably lead to renewed discussion of the viability of the "one country, two systems" concept. The success of Hong Kong, which China dearly wants to continue, depends on people in the territory being able to believe in the promises of the leadership in Beijing, whoever that may be in 1997. Imposition of martial law, which could be applied to the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong under Chinese law, will only heighten the suspicions and fray the nerves of people in the territory worried about the handover.

**Situation Mishandled**

Mr Louis Cha, the architect of the current conservative model of the Basic Law draft, which caused such dismay among democrats when it won favour in Guangzhou earlier this year, resigned from the drafting committee on Saturday night. This is an act which requires immediate explanation. Mr Cha should state whether the gesture was a protest against the handling of the situation in Beijing, or a sign that he now considers his political model has been rendered obsolete by events in China, and that greater democratic safeguards are needed in the draft.

Whether the protest take place in Hong Kong, Macao, Tokyo, North America or Britain, the common factor is the criticism of the way the leadership in Beijing have mishandled the street protests since the death of Hu Yaobang. The last month has seen a collapse in their credibility to the point where students are no longer calling for dialogue with the government, but for the resignation of supreme leader Deng Xiaoping and Prime Minister Li Peng.

The one consistent element in the behaviour of the leadership during the last month of division and indecision is that they have underestimated the strength of the opposition. It may be that the students would have gone back to their classrooms weeks ago if the authorities had agreed to conduct a dialogue with them on their various calls for reform, but that opportunity was missed, and now the protest movement in China is much deeper and much wider.

The masses have joined the students on the streets of Chinese cities because they want to make their voice heard. China already has constitutional channels to address grievances, but these have not been explored by a leadership which prefers government by clique and by edict. The Standing Committee of the Politburo, which voted to send troops into Beijing, may indeed have usurped the constitutional power of the National People's Congress [NPC], which is the organisation vested with that responsibility.

By misunderstanding the depth of the pent-up frustration among their people, the leadership have blundered into a situation which is quite alien to their experience. They simply do not know how to handle a popular reform movement, because they have never had to deal with the problem in the past. Their isolation from the realities of public opinion is given physical form through their cloistered existence in the Zhongnanhai compound, the inner sanctum of the top party echelon—an ironic repetition of the never-never land of the Imperial family inside the Forbidden City.

#### Damaging Image

Three incidents reveal the extent of their misreading of the situation. The PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial of April 26, in which the protesters were castigated as subversives, fuelled the flames of dissent beyond the student groups. When Mr Li finally met the students last Thursday, his hectoring tone ensured there was no chance of reconciliation. His address last Friday to a special assembly of the State Council and Beijing city cadres only aggravated the highly-charged situation with use of pejorative words like "anarchy".

Mr Li was at pains to point out, in his martial law announcement, that strong action was needed to restore international confidence in China, otherwise investment would suffer. Yet the image of China is suffering heavily overseas because of the inability to respond to the

current crisis expect with military threats. The former American Ambassador to China, Mr Winston Lord, echoed the view of the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, who said the fruits of freedom, once tasted, are impossible to deny again. The "open door" policies introduced under Deng Xiaoping have shown many millions of Chinese a better way of life, especially in Guangdong, and they will have no enthusiasm for going back to orthodox communist ideology.

Today there is both domestic and foreign pressure on the Beijing leadership not to use force against the demonstrators, whose grievances are genuine and whose agenda of reforms does not differ substantially from views expressed by senior leaders and members of the NPC. Dictatorship of the proletariat should not become dictatorship by an elite group of elderly gentlemen.

They have a way of defusing the confrontation, by reconvening the NPC, as some local delegates have urged. However, the situation has reached such as pitch that, for many protesters, only significant changes at the top will now suffice. To use a military metaphor, the Chinese leadership is in a situation where the supreme commander is not visible on the battlefield, and the front-line generals are in disarray because they cannot agree on tactics. That is a recipe for defeat, as veterans of the Long March will know. With the world watching, they cannot afford to make any more mistakes—their people deserve better.

#### Banks Hesitant About New Loans to Mainland

OW2305113489 Taipei CNA in English  
1015 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Hong Kong, May 23 (CNA)—Bankers in the territory are hesitant to extend new loans to Mainland China following the curfew imposed in Peiping at the weekend, according to banking sources. The sources said some banks are even reviewing their overall loan policy to the mainland in view of the tense political situation.

A Japanese banker was quoted by local press as saying that his bank was unlikely to make any new loans to Mainland China before the political situation stabilized.

A U.S. banker was also quoted as indicating that his bank is reviewing its loan policy to the mainland following the unrest.

With great political uncertainties across the border, bankers said they could suffer from two fronts. First, there would be less chance of lending to Mainland China with acceptable risk now that the political risk had increased. Second, should foreign companies hold back their investment in Mainland China on a significant scale the overall business of foreign banks in the territory would be scaled back.

Meanwhile, business circles also said foreign investors are wary about the current political turmoil in Mainland China although they have no plans of pulling their money out of the country at the moment. But the events are likely to put future investment plans on hold as businessmen ponder what their impact will be on Mainland China's economic policies, according to the business circles.

**UK Rules Out Immigration for Citizens**  
HK2505040989 Hong Kong *SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST* in English 25 May 89 pp 1, 10

[Text] The people of Hong Kong did not belong in the UK and there was no possibility of granting them the right of abode in Britain, the minister with special responsibility for immigration, Timothy Renton, said yesterday.

Speaking before the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee investigating the future of the territory, Mr Renton said existing legislation ruled out any possibility of Hong Kong citizens settling in the UK.

The British Nationality Act was only intended to grant citizenship to people with strong links to the UK or who had a relative with links to Britain.

"It was only intended to give citizenship to people who clearly belonged in this country who have put down roots," he said.

"Clearly the majority of the people in Hong Kong do not belong in this group."

Mr Renton said it would go against the government's policy of trying to control primary immigration to the UK if all British dependent citizens in Hong Kong were allowed to settle in Britain.

"All of us would find it hard to believe, if not impossible, that it would be reasonable to allow this number, 3-1/4 million, to come to this country for settlement," he said.

The members of the committee urged Mr Renton to seek a "middle way" in which to grant British citizenship to some, if not all, of the 3.28 million British dependent citizens in Hong Kong.

But Mr Renton was insistent that any changes to existing legislation on nationality would not be acceptable to Parliament.

However, he did concede that the government might be prepared in future to be more flexible to granting citizenship to Hong Kong civil servants who wished to settle in the UK and to war widows who wished to take up British citizenship.

Mr Renton was not specific, however, on how many war widows or civil servants would be allowed into the UK and said the numbers so far granted British citizenship were small.

Mr Renton said he could not rule out the possibility of a further flexibility when considering the merits of applications for residence in the UK by war widows.

Civil servants might also expect a more favourable reception to requests for citizenship but he did not say how many passports would be made available to crown servants in Hong Kong.

Mr Renton said applications for British citizenship by civil servants were considered by the home secretary in conjunction with advice given by the Governor.

But he refused to reveal how often the governor's advice was accepted in these cases.

Applications by civil servants were considered on the basis of length of service, links with the UK and indications that their service had been of direct benefit to Britain.

Mr Renton said the home secretary did have the discretion to waive certain residency requirements for people who came to UK to seek British citizenship.

The discretion might be used in the case of Hong Kong businessmen wanting to make investments in the Britain, he said. [sentence as published]

"The government encourages businessmen to come here and make their investments," he said.

Over the past few years, the number of Hong Kong people taking up residence in the UK had increased substantially.

In 1986, 860 Hong Kong citizens had taken up residence in Britain prior to seeking British citizenship, this figure increased to 920 in 1987 and 1,150 in 1988.

Home Office figures indicated there were now about 110,000 people with ethnic Chinese ancestry in the UK, making up about 4.5 percent of the total ethnic population.

The MPs questioned Mr Renton on the degree of flexibility which had been applied when considering the applications.

But he refused to reveal further details of the criteria used in selection except to say the home secretary looked for the applicants links with the UK.

Mr Renton said he believed if the British were to grant the right of abode to large numbers of people in Hong Kong it might run contrary to the Joint Declaration and lead to conflict with the Chinese authorities.

He said it might also suggest a lack of confidence by the British establishment in the present situation in Hong Kong.

Mr Renton said Hong Kong was a unique situation which defied comparison with other countries or former British dependencies.

"Hong Kong has always been a unique situation, its uniquely prosperous, uniquely successful and uniquely overcrowded," he said.

Mr Renton defended the acceptability of the new British national (overseas) passport.

He said the travel document was as acceptable as the existing British dependent territory citizens passport, although he conceded it had proved unpopular in Hong Kong.

Hong Kong citizens travelling with the new passport had experienced problems in gaining entry to Austria but he promised this problem would be resolved.

Earlier, the committee was told that the British Government should be more flexible in granting the right of abode to Hong Kong citizens so as to protect them from Chinese authorities.

The chairman of the London-based lobby group Hong Kong Association, Mr Henry Keswick, said the British could do more to ensure stability in the territory.

Mr Keswick said most people in Hong Kong were concerned about their future because of instability in China.

The administration in Beijing was a "Marxist, Leninist, thuggish government" which had a poor track record on human rights, he said.

Recent actions by the Chinese authorities—including the way they suppressed dissent in Tibet, the imposition of marshal [word as published] law in Beijing, and the holding of political prisoners—added to the unease felt in Hong Kong.

"These are the reasons why people want the insurance of a second passport," Mr Keswick said.

"I suspect there is no one in Hong Kong of the middle management or professional level who has not applied for a second passport. It is no good thing that this is happening."

The search for a second passport as an insurance against what might happen after 1997 was eroding the resources and energy of Hong Kong people, he said.

"It is very inconvenient, sad and unnecessary. Hong Kong could be even stronger and better if it wasn't happening," added Mr Keswick.

The British could stabilise the situation by guaranteeing the right of abode in the UK to key groups in Hong Kong.

He suggested that the UK administration should grant British nationality to Hong Kong students who studied in Britain.

"We must handle this with the maximum flexibility. This is not the case at the moment," he told the committee.

Mr Keswick said the British should not be prevented from granting citizenship to Hong Kong residents out of fear of upsetting the government in China.

"I don't think it will give offence to China, and if it does, so what?"

Mr Keswick admitted that granting the right of abode to all 3.28 million British dependent territory citizens in Hong Kong was a "gamble" as there was a chance that many of them would want to come and live in Britain.

But he said Britain must recognise its responsibilities towards Hong Kong.

"I have no doubt whatsoever that we have a moral obligation to these people."

He suggested that the British Home Office could compose a special wording to be printed in the passports of Hong Kong citizens which recognised their right of abode in the UK.

The committee also heard representations from members of Hong Kong Link, whose members in the territory and the UK have been campaigning for the protection of the rights of Hong Kong citizens after 1997.

Hong Kong Link members told the MP's they believed Britain had a legal and moral obligation to allow the people of Hong Kong the right of abode.

Hong Kong Link spokesman Teresa Ma told the MPs that people in Hong Kong were becoming increasingly concerned by what was happening in China.

"Hong Kong people see what is happening in China and perceive that the same sort of thing could happen in Hong Kong," she said.

Ms Ma said China had never been stable throughout its history and called on the British to ensure that the people of Hong Kong were certain of stability after 1997.

**Macao**

**More on 23 May Pro-Beijing Students' March**  
HK2405032589 Hong Kong HONGKONG STANDARD  
in English 24 May 89 p 4

[Text] One hundred thousand people marched through Macao's streets yesterday in what officials said was the largest demonstration in the enclave's history.

The marchers, supporting the student movement in Beijing and demanding the dismissal of China's Prime Minister Li Peng, brought Macao's traffic to a virtual standstill for two hours.

Officials estimated that 20 percent of Macao's population took part in the protest rally.

It was the third march in Macao since Saturday, when 10,000 people turned out despite appalling weather caused by Typhoon Brenda.

A rally on Monday, under much improved conditions, saw 50,000 take to the streets.

Yesterday's march was organized by Macao's traditionally pro-Beijing forces. The main group was the 1,500 member teachers' union, the Macao Chinese Education Association.

Many of Macao's businesses closed to indicate support for the rally, others to let their employees take part.

About 60 percent of the demonstrators were Chinese middle school students. Among the adults were an estimated 300 Portuguese and Portuguese-speaking Eurasians.

Car drivers stopped by the rally cheered and hooted their horns, and housewives and shop owners rushed into the streets with refreshments for those taking part.

The most popular slogan chanted was "Down with Li Peng". There were hundreds of banners and caricatures, some depicting Mr Li as a dog on a leash held by Deng Xiaoping, who was also holding playing cards, and others saying "Li Peng go to hell" and drawings of him in Nazi uniform.

Shortly after 4 pm a protest letter calling for the Chinese Government to lift martial law and not to use force on the students was handed to the Macao XINHUA News Agency.

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